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## ERRATA.

- P. 11, line 29. For Hazayyin read Huzayyin.  
P. 25, line 45. For 28 January read 4 February.  
P. 155, line 37. Sir Henry S. Wellcome, 1844, read 1854.  
P. 184, line 40. For American Saprey Company read American Express Company.



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WREN-HOUSE, OF LATE 19TH CENTURY DATE,  
FROM MARLOES, PEMBROKESHIRE.

*Photo: National Museum of Wales.*



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Britain: Folklore.

With Plate A.

Peate.

THE WREN IN WELSH FOLKLORE. *By Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., F.S.A.*

**1** Frazer<sup>1</sup> and other folklorists have already treated the folklore of the wren in European countries and the purpose of this paper is to draw the reader's attention to some cases in which the wren appears prominently in Welsh folklore.

The wren's nest is treated with particular respect in most districts in Wales, the couplet—

Y neb a dorro nyth y dryw  
Ni chaiff iechyd yn ei fyw

[Whosoever rob the wren's nest shall never have health in his life.]—being well-known in various forms throughout the country.

But the notable features of wren folklore in Wales are (a) the ceremony of hunting the wren, (b) the wren-house procession. Parallels are, of course, found in other parts of Europe, including Ireland and the Isle of Man; these will not be dealt with here. The Welsh material has been dealt with in part, chiefly from the folk-song aspect, by the late Llew Tegid.<sup>2</sup> "From the nursery upwards," he writes, "we were taught to respect and protect the bird and threatened with the most dire calamities "if we disregarded such teaching," and yet it was the custom down to the nineties of the nineteenth century, and possibly later,<sup>3</sup> to hunt the wren and, in some districts, to catch it alive, in others to kill it. The hunt was associated in various districts with songs sung to melodies now recorded in the *Journal of the Welsh Folk-Song Society* (*op. cit.*). In Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, on the borders of Montgomeryshire and Denbighshire, the words were:—

Ddoi di i'r coed? meddai Dibin wrth Dobin,  
Ddoi di i'r coed? meddai Rhisiart wrth Robin,  
A ddoi di i'r coed? meddai Siôn wrth y tri.  
A ddoi di i'r coed? meddai'r cwbl i gyd.

Beth wnawn ni yno, etc.; Hela'r Dryw bach. Beth wnawn ni ag efo? Ei werthu am swllt. Beth wnawn ni â swllt? Ei wario am gwrw. Beth 'tae'n ni'n meddwi? . . . Beth 'tae'n ni'n marw? . . . Ple caem ein claddu? Ym mhwl y domen.<sup>4</sup>

[Wilt thou come to the wood? said Dibin to Dobin; wilt thou come to the wood? said Richard to Robin; wilt thou come to the wood? said John to the three; wilt thou come to the wood? said all of them. What shall we do there? Hunt the little Wren. What shall we do with him? Sell him for a shilling. What shall we do with a shilling? Spend it on beer. What if we became drunk? . . . What if we died? . . . Where should we be buried? In the dunghill pit.]

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, Pt. V., vol. 2, pp. 31ff.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Journal of the Welsh Folk-Song Society*, vol. 1, pp. 99-113. [In English.]

<sup>3</sup> In several works, e.g., T. Gwynn Jones: *Welsh Folklore and Folk Custom*, p. 159 (following Wirt Sikes:

*British Goblins*), the custom is dated 'in the eighteenth century.' It persisted, however, to within the last quarter of the nineteenth century, if not later, and there are people still living who remember the ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> Llew Tegid does not give a translation of these folk-songs.



A somewhat similar song is recorded from the Amlwch district of Anglesey. This, however, begins with—

Ddoi di i'r coed? meddai Rhisiart wrth Robin,  
Ddoi di i'r coed? meddai Dibin wrth Dobin  
Ddoi di i'r coed? meddai Abram ei hun,  
Ddoi di i'r coed? meddai' nhw bod ag un.

[Wilt thou come to the wood? said Richard to Robin, . . . said Dibin to Dobin, . . . said Abram himself, . . . said each one of them. (This was followed by) What shall we do there? Hunt the little wren. How shall we bring it home? Horse and cart. How shall we eat it? Knife and fork.]

Another version from the Llŷn peninsula begins with 'Wilt thou come to seek the little Wren,' etc. But the last verse is different:—

Hegal i Dibin a legal i Dobin,  
Aden i Rhisiart ac aden i Robin,  
Hanner y pen i Sifn Pen-y-Stryd,  
A'r hanner arall i'r cwbl i gyd.

[A leg for Dibin and a leg for Dobin, a wing for Richard and a wing for Robin, half the head for John Pen-y-Stryd and the other half for all of them.]

In another version, recorded at Llwyngwrl, Merionethshire, the question-and-answer theme runs: 'Where art thou going? To kill the little wren. With what wilt thou kill it? With *teca* (a knife) and *mynawyd* (awl).' Versions have also been recorded from Denbigh and Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire,<sup>5</sup> and it seems certain that the Wren Hunt was formerly a widespread custom in Wales. It should be stressed that in the English region of Pembrokeshire<sup>6</sup> the Wren-Hunt song is found also in a related form. From Tenby an interesting version is recorded<sup>7</sup>:—

"O! where are you going? says Milder to Melder,  
"O! where are you going? says the younger to the elder,  
"O! I cannot tell, says Festel to Fose,  
"We're going to the woods, says John the Red Nose.

"O! what will you do there? Shoot the Cutty Wren. What will you shoot her with? With bows and arrows. That will not do. What will do then? With great guns and cannons. What will you bring her home in? On four strong men's shoulders. That will not do, etc. On big carts and waggons. What will you cut her up with? With knives and with forks. That will not do, etc. With hatchet, and cleavers. What will you boil her in? In pots and in kettles. That will not do, etc. In brass pans and cauldrons."

The reader will notice that in the Welsh versions the wren is described as the *dryc bach* (little wren); in the English version it is called the 'cutty wren,' a form which appears in many English dialects.<sup>8</sup> 'Cutty' (little) was borrowed<sup>9</sup> at a very early date into Welsh as *cwta*, and is found in folklore in such phrases as *huch ddu guta*, 'the tail-less black sow.' 'Cutty' appears also in 'Kitty Wren,' erroneously supposed<sup>10</sup> to indicate the popular belief in the wren's femininity.

The hunt, in Wales, took place in readiness for the procession held on Twelfth Day.

Edward Lhuyd (? 1660-1709) in his *Parochialia*<sup>11</sup> writes: "Arverant yn swydh Benfro &c. dhwyn drîw mewn elor nos ystwyth; odhiwrth gwr Ivank at i Gariad, sef day neu dri ai dygant mewn elor a ribane; ag a ganant gorolion. Ant hevyd i day ereilh the ni bo kariadon a bydh kwrw v. &c. A elor o'r wlad ai galwant Kwlli (*sic* Kwtti) wran."

[They are accustomed in Pembrokeshire, etc., to carry a wren in a bier on Twelfth Night; from a young man to his sweetheart, that is two or three bear it in a bier (covered) with ribbons; and sing

<sup>1</sup> For the detail of all these Welsh versions see Llew Tegid (*op. cit.*).

<sup>2</sup> Southern Pembrokeshire is predominantly English ('Little England beyond Wales').

<sup>3</sup> 'The Manners and Customs of the People of Tenby' in *The Cambrian Journal* (1837), IV, p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> F. J. Wright: *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. 'Cutty.'

<sup>5</sup> T. H. Parry-Williams: *The English Element in Welsh*, s.v. 'Cwta.'

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, H. K. Swann: *Dictionary of English and Folk-Names of British Birds*, p. 261.

<sup>7</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1910, p. 82.



carols. They also go to other houses where there are no sweethearts and there will be beer, etc. And a bier from the country they call Cutty Wran.]

This custom noted in Lhuyd's time persisted in Pembrokeshire for another two hundred years. A wren was hunted and caught *but not killed*, and enclosed in a Wren House. Such a house, of late nineteenth century date, from Marloes, Pembrokeshire (illustrated in Plate A), is now exhibited in the National Museum of Wales. The house is gaily decorated with coloured ribbons and has two windows and a door; it was carried in procession on Twelfth Day. I am informed<sup>12</sup> that in the Solva district about 1890, when a 'house' was not available, an old lantern decked with ribbons was used, and when a wren could not be obtained, a sparrow was substituted. The song sung at the Marloes procession was as follows:—

Joy, health, love and peace; we're here in this place;	We were four foot-men in taking this wren.
By your leave here we sing concerning our King.	We were four at watch and were nigh of a match
Our King is well drest in silks of the best	Now Christmas is past, Twelfth Day is the last.
And the ribbons so rare, no King can compare.	To the old year adieu, great joy to the new.
Over hedges and stiles we have travelled many miles.	Please turn the King in.

In Tenby the song was that already quoted above, 'O! where are you going? says Milder to Melder.' In the Solva district which is in Welsh Pembrokeshire, the song is in Welsh<sup>12</sup>:—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Dryw bach ydyw'r gŵr, amdano mae stŵr,<br>Mae cwest arno fe, nos heno 'mhob lle.             | 4. Rhubanau pob lliw sy o gwmpas y Dryw,<br>Rhubanau dri thro sy arno'n lle to.  |
| 2. Fe ddaliwyd y gwaleh, oedd neithiwr yn faleh:<br>Mewn stafell wen deg, a'i un brawd ar ddeg. | 5. Mae'r Drywod yn sgant, hedasant i bant<br>Ond deuant yn ôl trwy lwybrau'r hen ddôl.   |
| 3. Fe dorwyd i'r twr a daliwyd y gŵr:<br>Fe'i rhoddwyd dan len ar elor fraith wen.              | 6. O, meistresf ach fwyn, gwrandewch ar ein cwyn:<br>Plant ieuainc ym ni: gollyngweh ni i'r tŷ.<br>Agorweh yn glou, ynte dyma ni'n ffoi. |

[1. A little wren is the fellow about whom there is commotion; there is an inquest on him to-night everywhere. 2. The rogue who was proud last night is now caught in a fair white room with his eleven brothers. 3. The tower was broken into, the fellow caught: he was placed under a sheet, on a white bier, of many colours. 4. Ribbons of all colours encircle the wren, ribbons in three turns enclose him instead of a roof. 5. Wrens are scarce, they flew away; but they will return along the old meadow's paths. 6. O dear kind mistress, listen to our plea: we are young children, let us into the house. Open quickly or we flee.]

In the sixties of the nineteenth century, the wren procession was also known in the Canton district of Cardiff, where it was probably introduced by Irish immigrants. Here the custom was associated (as in Ireland) with St. Stephen's Day (Boxing Day) not Twelfth Day. Sir W. Goscombe John, R.A., LL.D.<sup>13</sup> writes: "I remember as a child groups of young roughs—they were generally Irish, I think—going round the Canton district of Cardiff on Boxing Day with a holly-tree decked with ribbons and a dead wren (*wran*) with a bottle of spirits attached. They sang:—

Mister Jones is a worthy man, And to his house I brought my wran I brought my wran to visit him here To wish him a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.	The Wran, the Wran that you may see Here guarded on our Holly Tree, A bunch of ribbons by his side, And a bottle of whiskey to be his guide,
---	---

.....  
St. Stephen's Day was caught in the furze.  
We hunted him up and we hunted him down  
'Till one of our brave boys knocked him down."

The procession was a disorderly one.

<sup>12</sup> Recorded from Mr. H. W. Evans.

<sup>13</sup> In a letter dated 21 June, 1929.



## Anatomy.

**EVOLUTIONARY PARALLELISM AND HUMAN PHYLOGENY.** By Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark, F.R.S., Department of Human Anatomy, University of Oxford: an abstract of a lecture read before the Oxford University Anthropological Society, 14 November, 1935.

Le Gros Clark.

**2** Parallelism is a commonly recognized phenomenon of organic evolution. Numerous instances can be cited in which organisms only remotely related to each other have, in the course of their evolutionary development, acquired a superficial resemblance in one or more anatomical features, a resemblance which at first sight might suggest a real affinity but which, on closer inspection, is found to be superimposed on fundamental structural differences. A frequently quoted and gross example of such a phenomenon is the similarity in general bodily proportions of the shark, ichthyosaurus, and porpoise. Within recent years intensive studies in comparative anatomy and plentiful palaeontological discoveries have led to the realization that evolutionary parallelism is much more prevalent and may be much more far-reaching in details than biologists in general had supposed to be the case. The evidence shows that, starting from some very primitive and generalized ancestral type, different groups of animals may develop along similar or parallel lines over prolonged periods of geological time so that in the terminal stages of their evolution they may come to resemble each other in the closest details. In these cases the most detailed and thorough scrutiny of the comparative anatomist is necessary in order to reveal that these groups are not really closely related in the sense that they have been derived from a common stock at a comparatively recent date, but that they must have undergone a long period of evolutionary independence. Thus, for instance, the general conformation and proportions of the skull in two mammals may be almost identical, but yet in some *apparently* small feature, such as the mode of construction of the ear chamber, or the precise method of articulation of certain bones, or in the details of the cusp pattern of the teeth, there may be some quite fundamental difference which conclusively shows that they have been derived from different ancestral stocks. It is important to realize that a remarkably complete parallelism may be attained in one system or organ while a complete divergence of structure is shown in other anatomical features. Clearly, in a case of this sort, the systematic position of the animal

can only be established by a complete anatomical survey, and the systematist is liable to fall into serious error if he confines his attention to one part of the body only. A large number of structural resemblances may only be of negative value as evidence of close affinity, while one or two fundamental differences would provide very positive evidence of comparatively wide divergence. Hence, a mere numerical computation of structural resemblances and differences can lead to entirely erroneous conclusions (even though these conclusions are thereby given an appearance of mathematical precision).

In the evolutionary radiations of the Primates there is evidence that parallelism has been a common phenomenon, as it has been in the case of other mammalian orders. Instances of this parallelism may be briefly noted here. There are three main groups or sub-orders in the Primates, the Lemuroidea, Tarsioidea, and Anthropoidea. The first includes two sub-divisions, the Lemuriformes or true lemurs of Madagascar, and the Lorisiformes (lorises, galagos, pottos) which are found on the mainland of Africa and in southern Asia. The Tarsioidea are represented to-day by one genus only, *Tarsius*, which inhabits Borneo and the Philippines, but in past times (mainly during the Eocene period) more than twenty different genera were in existence. The Anthropoidea comprise the New World or Platyrrhine monkeys, the Old World or Catarrhine monkeys, the anthropomorphous apes, and Man himself. In the generality of their anatomical features, these three sub-orders represent three successive levels of structural development linking up the more primitive lower mammals ultimately with Man. A superficial study indeed, might suggest that in his phylogenetic history Man has passed through a lemuroid stage, a tarsoid stage, a pithecoïd stage, and, finally, an anthropomorphous ape stage before acquiring human status. Actually, the problem is not so simple as a statement of this kind suggests.

The Lemuroidea, though in many features more primitive than the higher Primates (and, in so far as these features are concerned, providing a morphological basis for the evolutionary development of higher Primates), show a notable number



of divergent specializations. Palaeontology indicates that some of these specializations became progressively more marked while at the same time the Lemuroidea as a group manifested evolutionary tendencies similar to those of the higher Primates (e.g., in the progressive enlargement of the brain). Among the structural specializations of the Lemuroidea we may note the details of the auditory region of the skull and the reduction of the premaxilla, the reduction of the upper incisor teeth and the curious modification of the lower incisors, canine and first premolar, the elaboration of the last premolar teeth, the convolutional pattern of the brain, and certain unusual dispositions in the intestine and genital system. In all these features, the more primitive members of the higher Primates (Tarsiodea and Anthroipoidea) are more generalized. Hence, in so far as these specializations can be regarded as manifestations of an evolutionary trend of characteristic of the Lemuroidea, the higher Primates can hardly have been derived from the lemuroid stock. It is important to note that the lemuroid stock commenced their peculiar modifications at a very early time. Thus in Eocene times, the skull structure of *Adapis*, *Pronycticebus* and *Notharctus* shows that these forms were already specialized to some degree along lemuriform lines. A detailed comparison of the anatomy of the Lemuroidea and of the higher Primates makes it evident that a common ancestral type which might have conceivably given rise to these divergent groups could hardly have been distinguished in adult structure from the generalized basal mammalian stock which gave rise to placental mammals as a whole. Yet, in their later stages the lemurs became astonishingly monkey-like. Indeed, the fossil remains of certain Pleistocene lemurs of Madagascar were at one time regarded as the remains of true monkeys. We know now that this cannot be the case. In the first place, true monkeys are known to have come on the scene very much earlier—at least at the beginning of the Oligocene, and, secondly, a close scrutiny of the Madagascar fossils shows plainly enough that the pithecoïd resemblances are superimposed on fundamental lemuroid modifications. Not only did the evolutionary development of the lemurs run closely parallel with that of the higher Primates, but they also show some remarkable parallelisms among themselves. There is evidence that some of the peculiar lemuroid

specializations common to both the Lemuriformes and Lorisiformes were independently developed. More remarkable still is the evidence offered by the European *Adapis* and the American *Notharctus*, both Eocene lemurs. The general conformation of the skull in these animals is so similar that it almost amounts to a complete identity. Yet there is a very curious difference in the dentition. Both of them have followed the prevalent evolutionary tendency of the Primates in converting the primitive tritubercular molar into a quadritubercular molar. In *Adapis* the fourth cusp has been added in the usual way by an upgrowth from the base of the crown of the tooth. In *Notharctus*, on the other hand, a rather anomalous fourth cusp has been produced by the fission of one of the original cusps. Earlier stages in the development of these two types of cusps are shown in one case by the primitive lemuroid *Pronycticebus* in Europe, and in the other case by the primitive genus *Pelycodus* in America. It appears, therefore, that *Adapis* and *Notharctus* underwent their evolutionary development independently in the Old World and the New World from primitive tritubercular ancestors and that they are not nearly so closely related as the remarkable resemblance in their skull structure might at first suggest.

The Tarsiodea show in their structural organization many approximations to the Anthroipoidea. It has even been suggested that they ought to be regarded as primitive monkeys. They resemble monkeys in certain skull characters such as the position of the foramen magnum and the bony partition behind the orbit, in their cerebral anatomy, in the structure of the lip, and in their genital system and early embryology. Some of these similarities, however, appear to be spurious. The poor development of the olfactory parts of the brain (a characteristic feature of the Anthroipoidea) is apparently conditioned by a reduction of the nasal cavities, but this reduction has been produced by the compression of the large and specialized orbits, whereas in the Anthroipoidea it is the result of the recession of the whole snout region which comes to lie rather below the front part of the brain-case than well in advance of it. The high degree of development of the visual parts of the brain in the Anthroipoidea is apparently conditioned by a marked specialization of the retina. The closely similar development of the visual



parts of the Tarsioid brain, on the other hand, is associated with quite a different type of retinal specialization. It has also been suggested that some of the pithecoïd characters of the skull, such as the orbito-temporal septum and the position of the foramen magnum, are secondary to the specialized development of the orbits. Considerations of this sort lead to the suspicion that there has been a good deal of parallelism between the Tarsioida and the Anthropeïda. In fact, while on the available evidence it seems probable that the Anthropeïda did arise from a very primitive stock of Tarsioids, there is little doubt that the former branched off from the latter before many of the pithecoïd characters of the Tarsioida had fully developed. In other words, the Tarsioida, as a group, continued to evolve along lines parallel to those of the Anthropeïda after they had been definitely committed to their own peculiar evolutionary trends.

In the suborder Anthropeïda there are two distinct groups of monkeys, the Platyrrhine and the Catarrhine groups. While in general bodily structure they appear very similar, they are to be distinguished by a number of apparently small but yet fundamental points relating to their osteology, dentition, and certain other features. These divergences are considered so significant that some authorities (*e.g.*, W. K. Gregory) suggest that they may have been derived from two distinct groups of Tarsioids. It seems certain, at least, that they separated in their phylogenetic history when the common ancestor was at least as primitive as the small marmosets of South America. The brain of these small monkeys is relatively primitive and comparatively smooth, and it is difficult to imagine that the brain of the common ancestral type could have been more elaborate. Yet the brains of the larger New World and Old World monkeys acquire the closest resemblance in their convolutional pattern even though they may be distinguished in some details of microscopic structure. There can be no doubt that if the common ancestor were known, it would be found to differ, in the numerical sum of its anatomical characters, more widely from the Platyrrhine monkey *Cebus* and the Catarrhine monkey *Macaca* than the latter differ from each other.

The anthropoid apes are of particular interest in this connection because of the structural resemblance which they show to Man himself.

Of these apes it is quite certain that the Chimpanzee and Gorilla possess the greatest number of characters in common with Man. As we have seen in previous examples of parallelism, however, this does not necessarily indicate that they are more closely related to Man than is the small and more primitive gibbon. All the anthropoid apes have undergone a measure of divergent specialization which evidently leads away from the path of human evolution, as, for instance, the undue lengthening of the arms and the atrophy of the thumb. It seems reasonable to suppose that the human stock separated from the anthropoid ape stock before such specializations were developed in the latter. Studies of the Primate foot by Dudley Morton have led to some interesting conclusions in regard to the stage at which this separation took place. Without entering into technical details, it may be noted that this evidence suggests that the human stock arose as a distinct evolutionary line at a time when the common ancestor of Man and the modern anthropoid apes was not much larger than the modern gibbon. If this interpretation is correct, it must be assumed that many of the strikingly human characters of the gorilla (such as the dimensions of the brain and details of the skull and skeleton) were developed as an expression of parallel evolution. Some authorities are reluctant to admit of such an interpretation, but if parallelism is established as an important factor in the evolution of other groups of Primates, there is no reason why, in this case, it should be refused consideration. Naturally, conclusions regarding the more precise details of human phylogeny must be quite provisional at the moment—the scanty evidence at our disposal does not permit of any final statement on the problem. Nevertheless, the detailed comparative anatomical data do suggest that Man separated from the anthropoid ape stock rather earlier than might be supposed from a superficial survey of this evidence; but further paleontological discoveries are required in order to substantiate this thesis.

Whatever may have been the circumstances of the first appearance of the Hominidæ, there is no doubt that in the early stages of his evolution Man produced a number of different types, not all of which survived the struggle for existence. In his presidential address in the Section of Anthropology at the British Association in Sept., 1935, Smith Woodward concludes quite definitely that



"there were several distinct approaches to modern man before his type became fixed and persistent; just as there were parallel lines of evolution, effective and non-effective, in the ancestry of other modern mammals." We may note that two early types of Man, *Eoanthropus* and *Sinanthropus*, were approximately contemporaneous, and yet they were widely different in certain structural features. In some of these features *Eoanthropus* approaches more closely to modern Man; in other features *Sinanthropus* is the more advanced. If one of these types represents the ancestral stock from which modern Man was derived, the advanced features of the other can only be explained on the basis of parallel evolution.

When we come to racial varieties of *Homo sapiens*, the question of parallelism introduces very great difficulties. The evidence of zoology shows, as might be anticipated, that in cases of evolutionary parallelism the closer the relationship between two groups, the closer will be the parallelism, and the more difficult will it be to distinguish between resemblances which indicate close genetic affinity and those which owe their origin to parallel evolution. As an example of the sort of difficulties which are encountered, we may recall the controversy on the Chancelade skull. This palæolithic skull of Magdalenian age was first described by Testut, who considered it to be an Eskimo skull. This conclusion was supported by more than one authority, and strongly contested by another eminent anthropologist. Since the Eskimo skull is one of the best-defined craniological types, this outstanding difference of expert opinion provides an interesting commentary on the limitations of craniological methods. There is no doubt that in its general conformation the Chancelade skull resembles an Eskimo very closely. In some respects, indeed, it is more Eskimoid than many Eskimo skulls. Studied by the usual methods of the biometrician, it was at one time stated to be distinctly closer to the Eskimo than to the modern English, and the conclusion was reached that Eskimos lived in France in Palæolithic times. In a subsequent and wider biometrical study, Morant showed that this conclusion was not warranted by the facts. The point that seems to require emphasis, however, is that a mere numerical assessment of resemblances does not always give reliable in-

formation in regard to affinity. It may be that in a certain number of measurements and indices the Chancelade skull shows a preponderating resemblance to the Eskimo, but this is possibly the result of parallelism. If the Chancelade skull possesses even one or two characters which are unusual in the Eskimo, such an interpretation receives considerable reinforcement. In actual fact this is the case with certain characters such as the shape and orientation of the nasal skeleton (as pointed out by Keith), and it is important to note that this kind of non-metrical character is not commonly taken into account in the biometrical treatment of a skull. We may perhaps illustrate the dangers of attempting to assess the relationships of racial types on the basis of a limited number of measurements and indices by rather an extreme analogy. If the skulls of a thylacine wolf, a common wolf, and an elephant are compared point by point, there is no doubt that in the *sum* of their characters the two wolves resemble each other very closely, and both are widely different from the elephant. It might be supposed, therefore, that the two wolves are much more closely related to each other than either is to the elephant. This presumably would be the conclusion of Professor Hooton who, in a recent paper<sup>1</sup> (which is, unfortunately, marred by an incredible facetiousness), affirms his adherence to the belief "that the more numerous" and detailed the resemblances between two "animals the closer the relationship between them." It is precisely this type of error which is likely to be perpetrated if the existence of evolutionary parallelism is ignored. In dealing with skulls alone, the possibility of such an error is greatly magnified. It has already been emphasized that it is a risky business to attempt the natural classification of any animal by reference to one portion of its anatomy only. If, further, attention is confined to a relatively few measurements and indices while ignoring the evidence of non-metrical characters (or, rather, characters which are not readily amenable to measurement), the risk is greatly increased. In the example suggested above, the common wolf and the elephant both belong to the group of mammals called Eutheria, while the thylacine wolf belongs to the sub-class of Marsupials which, as palæontology indicates, separated from the Eutherian mammals as far back as the middle of

<sup>1</sup> *Science*, 12 July, 1935.



the Mesozoic period. The recognition of the possibilities of evolutionary parallelism must make it apparent that the methods of craniology, as employed for assessing the affinities of racial

types, are somewhat limited. At least, it is desirable to call the attention of craniologists to these possibilities when they attempt to apply their methods to the elucidation of racial relationships.

America: North.

**NORTH-WEST AMERICAN INDIAN ART AND ITS EARLY CHINESE PARALLELS.** By Doctor Leonhard Adam.

**3** I. The decorative art, in particular the ornamental style, of the coastal Indians of North-West America is so peculiar and so very



FIG. 1. TOP OF A CHINESE BRONZE BELL, CHOU DYNASTY 1122-255 B.C.), SHOWING TWO SYMMETRICAL MONSTERS, OR DRAGONS, BITING INTO A SNAKE WHICH IS REPRESENTED WITH TWO BODIES BUT ONE HEAD IN THE CENTRE, TO BRING OUT THE EFFECT OF SYMMETRY. ACTUALLY THE HEAD IS SHOWN FULL FACE, WHILE THE BODY IS CUT IN TWO HALVES, THUS SHOWING THE BODY IN TWO PROFILES: NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH THE DOUBLE-HEADED SNAKE.

complicated that its explanation seemed to be hardly possible until in 1896 and 1897, when Prof. Franz Boas published the results of his studies which had been largely assisted by his Indian friends,<sup>1</sup> especially Charles Edensaw whom Boas noted to be 'the best carver and painter among the Haida.' Later on, John R. Swanton ('Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida,' Mem. Am. Mus. of Nat. Hist., N.Y., vol. V, 1905) and George T. Emmons ('The Chilkat Blanket,' Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 3, part 4, N.Y., 1907) contributed to the further enlightening of the mysteries of the

North-West American decorative style. As a whole, there is no longer anything mysterious in it to-day, though still more than one design remains a puzzle to us; but we may add that even the Indians themselves cannot always give an unambiguous explanation of certain drawings or ornamented blankets. In consequence of this we meet with altogether contradictory interpretations. Yet this is an exception, while the principle itself, or we better say the principles, are definitely clear. I have tried to bring these principles into a certain order,<sup>2</sup> as follows:—

(1) The principle of stylizing (as a contrast to realistic representations);

(2) The principle of schematic characterization, or symbolism:

(a) by way of accentuating certain characteristic features of the body;

(b) by adding characteristic attributes (e.g., a stick held by the beaver in its forepaws);

(3) The principle of splitting the body;

(4) The principle of dislocating the split details;

(5) The principle of representing one animal by two profiles;



FIG. 2.—PAINTING OF A DOG-FISH, HAIDA. (See BOAS, 'PRIMITIVE ART,' FIG. 232.) THE BODY OF THE FISH HAS ENTIRELY BEEN CUT IN TWO AND FOLDED TO THE RIGHT AND TO THE LEFT SHOWING TWO SYMMETRICAL PROFILES.

<sup>1</sup> The decorative art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast [reprinted from *Science*, N.S. vol. IV, No. 82, July 24, 1896]; and the proper treatise, under the same title, in 'Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History,' vol. IX, New York, May 24, 1897. A revised edition represents the sixth chapter of Boas's

book 'Primitive Art,' Oslo, etc., 1927, pp. 183 to 298.

<sup>2</sup> Das Problem der asiatisch-altamerikanischen Kulturbeziehungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kunst (Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens, vol. V, Vienna, 1931), p. 57 sq.



(6) The principle of symmetry (with exceptions!);

(7) The principle of reducing (representations 'pars pro toto'):

(8) The principle of illogical transformation of details into new representations which were originally not provided for (e.g., two toes of a

style, we meet with paintings, or drawings, in particular among the Kwakiutl Indians, representing, instead of a complete man or animal, a vertical section where the skeleton is revealed. We meet with the same method in North Australia, as may be seen from illustrations reproduced by Spencer.<sup>3</sup> Thus the artist in both



FIG. 3.—DECOMPOSITION OF A RELIEF ON THE LOWER BORDER OF A CHINESE BRONZE BELL, CHOU DYNASTY. IN THE CENTRE THE TAO TIEH "MASK" SURROUNDED ON BOTH SIDES BY A CRISS-CROSS OF ORNAMENTS WHICH WERE DISENTANGLED AS TWO SYMMETRICAL PAIRS OF STYLIZED ANIMALS (SNAKES OR DRAGONS). THESE DEVELOPED PROBABLY FROM STYLIZED PROFILES OF ONE ANIMAL THE HEAD OF WHICH WAS THE TAO TIEH-MASK. DRAWING BY L. ADAM.

paw becoming a bird's beak whereby the *eye ornament*, which is, properly, no eye, but simply indicates a joint, becomes an eye in the proper sense of this term).

The fact that some drawings are ambiguous is

N.W. America and North Australia represents not what he sees, but what he knows to exist. This method of drawing may thus be called 'intellectual.'

II. It is a custom to decorate certain parts of

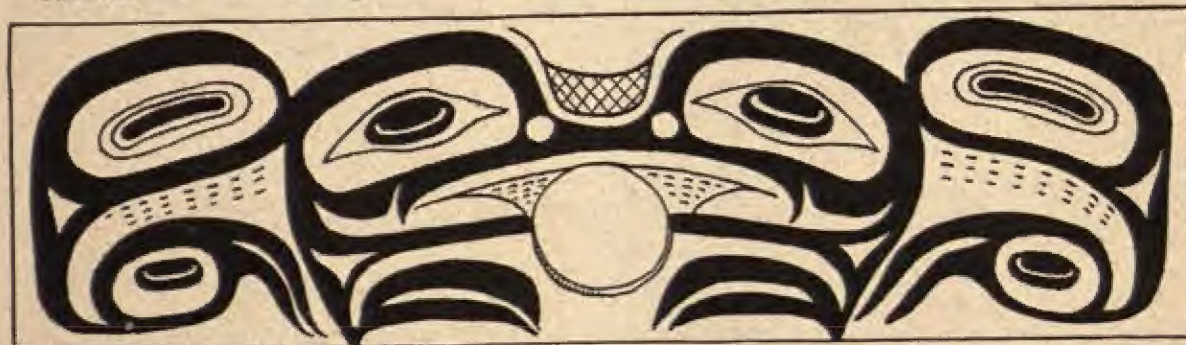


FIG. 4.—COLOSSAL PAINTING ON A WALL IN A HAIDA HOUSE. REPRESENTING THE MYTHICAL BEING QONAQADA (SWANTON). REPRESENTATION LIKE NO. 2. THE HEAD IS ALSO COMPOSED OF TWO PROFILES. THIGHS AND JOINTS OF THE HIND-CLAWS SHOW EYE-ORNAMENTS. THE HIND-CLAWS FORMED LIKE BIRDS' BEAKS (PRINCIPLE NO. 8), BEGINNINGS OF PROGRESSIVE STYLIZATION LIKE NO. 3.

more a consequence of the above principles Nos. 3 to 8 than a principle itself.

As regards the principle No. 5, it may be observed here that, apart from the decorative

the body of represented animals or human beings with a *human face*. This occurs frequently in the centre of the body or, for instance, it occupies the surface of a beaver's tail. The origin of this

<sup>3</sup> 'Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia.' By Baldwin Spencer. London, 1914. Figures Nos. 80, 83, 86, 88, 89 to 91.



design remains unclear, while human faces or animal heads appearing sometimes inside an eye ornament (joint) may generally be explained by principle No. 8.

III. The principles Nos. 5 and, in connection therewith, No. 3 and 6, can be explained by Prof. Boas's statement that "the arrangement is dictated by the form of the decorative field," in other words, that "the native artist is almost always restrained by the shape of the object to which the decoration is applied" ('Primitive Art,' p. 183). The blankets with their rich decoration of animal designs were worn round their shoulders by the chiefs or shamans. This had the effect that the man seemed to be wrapped with the skin of the animal represented. Similarly silver bracelets with totemic designs are worn. To the native mind these are not merely decorated with carvings or drawings, as it is actually the case, but the forearm, or wrist, is considered to be directly ornamented with the design. The animal is, so-to-say, put round the arm, or body of the man, and this idea has made it necessary to cut the animal's body in two along its back (compare Boas, 'Primitive Art,' p. 245) whereby the two profiles came into existence.

IV. The same principles seem to govern the Chinese decorative art of the Chou epoch (1122-256 B.C.). The Chinese style of the Chou Dynasty has already been compared with the ancient Central American art. The first to discover striking resemblances here was Prof. W. Perceval Yetts (London). The writer studied the similarities between the Chinese Chou style and the Huai style (formerly denoted as Ts'in style) and, on the other hand, the style of the marble vessels from the valley of the Rio Ulua (Honduras) (about 12th or 13th centuries A.D. according to Morley).<sup>4</sup> The Rio Ulua style has apparently the principles Nos. 5, 6, and 7, and furthermore, joints of a shape similar to the eye-ornament in common with the N.W. American style. Prof. O. Sirén (Stockholm) arrived independently at the same conclusion. Having already submitted to Orientalists my theory that both Chinese Chou style and North-West American style developed under identical rules,<sup>5</sup> I would now wish to start

a discussion on this same point among anthropologists. It may be that this comparison leads to solving the problem of the so-called *Tao Tieh-mask*, which is obviously the key to an understanding of the typical Chou decorations.

It is evident that the Tao Tieh-mask does not always represent the same being. The decorative elements surrounding it are also not identical, but vary considerably. I suggest that the Tao Tieh mask was originally no mask at all, but the head of an animal, and that the decorative details round it are not independent, but originally formed part of its structure. In the course of a very long development they were separated from the body of the animal, and were distorted in the same way as also undoubtedly occurred in the case in North-West America, where the final stage of degeneration can be seen in the Chilkat blankets. The tendency, however, of transforming the distorted details into independent animals, like snakes or dragons, was much stronger in China. In this connection one point deserves a careful consideration. It is evident that the Chou style shows a good deal of purely geometric forms. Now Boas has already mentioned ('Primitive Art,' p. 278) that also in N.W. America 'geometric forms are not by any means absent.' Still these forms are much less in use here than in China. This is one more proof that compared with China the N.W. American decorative art represents a more recent stage of development.

V. This theory, however, does not suggest a historical connection between those two styles created by so different peoples and with a chronological distance of about 3,000 years. We can be satisfied with having found an important and very elucidating auxiliary means for a reasonable analysis of the Chou style, though we must admit that the American parallel does not solve all problems. But we have, of course, to try and find an explanation of these resemblances. It is to be observed here that there exists in N.W. America a realistic style, though principally in the plastic art, independently from the typical decorative style which we meet with in both drawings and carvings. No doubt realistic art existed also in early China, whereby we have to note that the

<sup>4</sup> See my paper quoted in footnote 2, p. 63. I may add here that Prof. Baron Heine-Geldern (Vienna) has recently expressed the opinion that the Maori designs of New Zealand are "undoubtedly derived from the Chinese Huai style," and that this must have happened

during the time between the 7th and 2nd centuries B.C., i.e., the estimated epoch of the Huai style. See R. Heine-Geldern 'Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde,' vol. 2, Stuttgart 1935, p. 315.

<sup>5</sup> See footnote 2.



typical decorative Chou style which occurs on bronze vessels and jade objects has nothing to do with the well-known so-called 'Eurasian' or Skythian animal style. An import of Chinese works of art to N.W. America in pre-European times has not yet been proved. We cannot enter into the complex of other North-East Asiatic and North-West American parallels here, so we will confine ourselves to stating that there exist only parallels or structural resemblances but no identities. What we compare here are, on one side, engraved designs on Chinese bronze vessels, bells, etc., and, on the other side, drawings and paintings on altogether different objects. Thus the subject of our comparison is only the identical artistic method. Now, according to Boas ('Primitive Art,' p. 279) "it seems not unlikely that the symbolic style and the desire to cover the whole field with ornaments have developed only recently. In early times geometric ornaments were probably more widely used than is the case now." It may be noted, too, that the Southern tribes of Vancouver Island "show a far more extended use of geometric ornamentation than the Northern tribes," so that Boas concludes that the symbolic style "has undoubtedly its home in

"Northern British Columbia and southern Alaska" (*ibidem*, p. 281). We must not overlook, however, that beautifully carved realistic pieces have been excavated in the South, *viz.*, on the upper Fraser River, and that rock-drawings at Nanaimo (Vancouver) are absolutely realistic, though very primitive. It is quite uncertain whether these prehistoric drawings were made by the ancestors of the modern Kwakwaka'wakw. In any case, we may say that, what we call the typical North-West decorative style is of comparatively recent origin. It is impossible to suggest an absolute date here, though it is perhaps not incautious to express the opinion that only a development of some centuries may be taken into consideration. Under such circumstances we cannot expect to discover a historical connection with ancient China but will have to suspect a similar mentality to be the psychological background of corresponding artistic ideas. This phenomenon is the more striking since the assumption that the coastal Indians of British Columbia are more Mongoloid in appearance than the other Indians has recently been called in question by Dr. R. Ruggles Gates in his treatise on 'Blood Groups and Physiognomy of British Columbia Coastal Indians.'<sup>6</sup>

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**North West American Indian Art and its Early Chinese Parallels.** By Dr. Leonhard Adam, Tuesday 3 December, 1935.

4 An illustrated summary is printed above, MAN, 1936, 3.

**Glacials and Pluvials.** By Dr. S. A. Hazayyin, Tuesday 17 December 1935.

5 A review and tentative correlation, in the light of recent physiographic and archaeological research: summary follows, MAN, 1936, 20.

## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

### THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETY.

6 The attention of those interested in prehistoric archaeology, and in particular that of the British Isles, is drawn to the recent establishment of a new Society for the promotion of these studies.

For some years past the rapid increase in the development of British prehistory has placed a heavy strain on the space of those national Societies which deal with antiquarian studies as a whole, and it has been judged time to give the subject a publication and central rallying point of its own.

To this end the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, which has honourably sustained the rôle of the only Society exclusively devoted to these studies since 1908, has been put upon a national basis since the beginning of 1935. The President for the year is

Professor V. Gordon Childe, B.Litt., F.S.A., F.R.A.I., Abercromby Professor of Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh, following upon a list of distinguished past presidents, including Mr. J. Reid Moir, Sir Cyril Fox, and the Abbé Breuil.

The annual minimum subscription is 15s. or 4 dollars, and the Proceedings, which have been entirely recast, appear annually in the New Year under the editorship of Grahame Clark, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A. The present membership is 420, and includes some of the most distinguished names in British prehistoric studies. The numbers have been increased by 25 per cent. in the last eighteen months, and if they can be still further enlarged it is hoped to be able to publish Proceedings twice a year. The printing has been entrusted to the well-known firm of John Bellows, of Gloucester.

<sup>6</sup> JRAI, vol. LXIV (1934), p. 23 *et seq.*



Some half a dozen meetings are held each year at Burlington House for the reading of papers.

An organization of local groups under Hon. Local Secretaries has been begun which will give focal points for those interested in prehistoric work. It is hoped that these will be able to hold local meetings

which may be addressed by lecturers of national repute.

Further information may be obtained from C. W. Phillips, M.A., F.S.A., 78, Chesterton Road, Cambridge; or Guy Maynard, F.R.A.L., The Museum, High Street, Ipswich.

## REVIEWS.

### RELIGION.

**The Origins of Religion.** By *Rafael Karsten*. vii + 328 pp. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Price 12s. 6d. net.

In many ways this book reminds the reviewer of the most famous of all eggs. It is a brief and handy exposition of its subject, divided into two parts, whereof the first treats beliefs, the second cult. The eighteen chapters, after a short and clear account of some leading theories concerning the origin of religion, deal successively with the soul, *mana*, the worship of animals, plants and inanimate nature, and totemism, explained as a particular case of the belief in transmigration; next comes a section on 'spirits, demons, ghosts,' and another on the Schmidtian 'high gods.' The origin of ritual is then discussed, next communion with and control of the world of spirits, ceremonies of purification, sacrifice, prayer and the tendance and cult of the dead. All this is set forth by an anthropologist of first-hand experience in the field and very considerable reading. The medium is English, remarkably good on the whole, although the author would have done well to ask an Englishman to read his MS. and remove a few misuses of our capricious idioms. The work has been written, says the short preface, "after mature consideration" of the many and difficult problems" (p. vii). It should therefore be thoroughly good, whereas along with many virtues it has some glaring faults.

What some might regard as the worst of these is that the author is a thorough-going Tylorian, and insists on animism as the primitive stage of religion. This, however, is matter of opinion, not fact; the reviewer contents himself with noting that Professor Karsten seems nowhere fairly to face the main issue. That the peoples which he knows or of which he has read are animistic is past reasonable doubt. It is also past reasonable doubt that all existing peoples have advanced their material culture at least as far as a palæolithic technique, generally further than that. If, in the latter case, it does not follow that eolithic man never existed, in the former we still have to consider whether so considerable a feat of abstract thought as the conception of a ghost or spirit of any kind, however materially envisaged, was not beyond the powers of the first men who had any sort of magico-religious ideas at all and it is not much more reasonable to credit them, not, of course, with so subtle a theory as the Melanesian doctrine of *mana* or the Amerindian *wakanda*, but with a vague notion that some persons or objects could 'do things' in a way impossible to ordinary mortals. It may be added that a great many of the examples he produces are at least as

explicable on the hypothesis of what the followers of Preuss call *orendism* as on the animistic theory.

But setting this aside, as a virtue or a defect according to the reader's personal convictions, it must be noted that the book teems with irritating, if small, inaccuracies. The reviewer has especially noted those which damage the many parallels drawn from classical belief and cult. Apart from numerous 'howlers' in the Greek and Latin words quoted from time to time, the following may be adduced as showing that, although Professor Karsten has written on the religion of ancient Greece, he does not fully understand it and would do well to study some more modern and reliable works than those he mentions in his notes and bibliography. The fact (p. 87) that we hear of a beast which had killed someone being tried, executed and cast beyond the border (Plato, *Laws*, 873 c) has nothing whatever to do with its being regarded as a person, or responsible in law. The same passage shows (cf. p. 124, another irrelevancy) that inanimate objects of all sorts were similarly treated on occasion, and these certainly were never supposed to be persons. As Plato rightly insists, the act was an *ἀφροσύνη*, a process of reducing things to a state of *noia* when they had become dangerously *tabu*. On p. 101, the statement that the roots of the sacred oak of Dodona were "believed to run down" to Tartarus" is nonsense, arising from a somewhat gross misunderstanding of Vergil, *Georg.*, ii, 291 (cited in the note). Vergil says that the roots (of any oak) extend as far hell-wards as the branches do skywards; Pliny, who is also quoted in the same note, rightly understood the lines in this sense. On the same page, neither Plutarch (*Theseus*, 8) nor anyone else brings Theseus into contact with a "Theban giant"; the reference is to Sinis, who beset the Isthmus of Corinth. On p. 133, Poseidon is said to have been originally a god of the sea, despite the fact that his earliest worshippers lived nowhere near it. On p. 136, we once more are introduced to that aged piece of rationalism which makes the plague sent by Apollo, in the *Iliad*, into the unhealthy conditions produced by a hot sun in a crowded camp. On p. 177, the *κακοδαίμονες*, or Unlucky Club, mentioned by Lysias in a fragment of his indictment of Kinesias, become invokers of evil demons; although here, it is true, Professor Karsten is in learned company, for the latest edition of Liddell and Scott makes these harmlessly silly defiers of current superstition into a kind of satanists. Their modern equivalents are those persons who from time to time hold solemn dinners with thirteen guests, at which, having walked under a ladder to their seats, they ritually break mirrors



and spill salt. The same page, and also p. 202, once more present us with "Pandora's box," despite the two circumstances that it was not a box and not hers.

It is pleasant to turn from these and other inaccuracies to one of the greatest merits of the work, the store of good facts with which the author now and then abolishes a pretentious theory. After his criticism (p. 192 *sqq.*) of the researches of Fathers Keppers and Gusinde among the Fuegians, no unprejudiced student is likely to take seriously the primitive high gods whom they have discovered among a people long exposed to missionary influence and whose own deities are anything but high. Against some casual suggestions which do not commend themselves to the reviewer as satisfactory explanations of the phenomena discussed should be put several which are good and at least one which is admirable, that on p. 289, which explains the widespread fear of the dead as due to terror, not of the dead man's own spirit, but of the spirit of disease which has possessed his body; although for my own part, I should prefer the vaguer expression "contagion of death," readily admitting that in very many cases this has been personalized into a spirit or demon of smallpox or some other malady.

Altogether, this is rather a work for the mature student to study critically for the many shrewd ideas and good store of facts which it contains, than for the beginner to use for his first introduction to the scientific investigation of religious phenomena.

H. J. ROSE.

#### The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead. By Alan H. Gardiner.

8 Cambridge University Press. 45 pp. Price 2s.

In the Frazer Lecture of this year Dr. Gardiner enunciated, with appropriate additions, the interpretations of the available evidence on this subject which he first set forth in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Ethics and Religion*. He has brought together a large amount of material and sifted and interpreted it with his well-known skill and experience. The lecture is published in this little book, with additional notes; it is addressed principally to anthropologists and must be taken into account in all general studies of the subject. He points out the essential difference between the fear of death and the fear of the dead and shows that the former, among the Egyptians, was carried to excess but it did not refer to the physical death which we understand by the word and which to them was merely the passage from one phase of existence to another; death, for them, reached much further for it meant absolute annihilation of both body and soul. On the other hand, the fear of the dead, so widespread and deep in the more primitive peoples of the world, had comparatively little hold on the Egyptians. Their attitude in this respect denotes, he says, a strong individualism without a corresponding sense of obligation to others. Hence the care of forbears in their tombs did not go beyond grandparents, if so far, and true ancestor-cult did not exist; on the contrary, the individual provided most carefully for

his own tomb and its maintenance with all the proper rites. But he allows that, according to surviving evidence, the Pharaohs were probably obliged to observe a stricter rule and maintain due rites for the benefit of their legitimate predecessors.

The author's conclusions can hardly be denied for the historical times, and we cannot know with certainty what ideas prevailed before them. Yet it is a very arguable proposition that a form of the ancestor-worship which is so widely distributed and deeply rooted in many parts of the world was the original foundation to the great care for funerary observances shown by the ancient Egyptians. It was always the sons, preferably the eldest, who conducted that very important rite, the funerary feast, in which ancestors were sometimes represented on the wall scenes as taking part; for example, in Paheri's tomb. A few texts indicate that dead ancestors were believed to watch over the interests of their living descendants, but the most striking evidence of this belief is found in the Letters to the Dead referred to by the author, who has published them in conjunction with the late Professor Sethe. The converse duty, of the living to the dead, is indicated for the general people in rare documents but is very apparent for the Pharaohs; from this we may infer that that duty was probably general in the remoter prehistoric periods, for the Pharaohs were the supreme—nay, divine—heads of the national religious system and were therefore more bound than others to preserve as whole as possible the ancient rites of the country.

The conclusion thus would be that while, as the author contends, the Egyptian character, in its developed state of historical times, did not accept true ancestor-worship, yet much of their rites was founded on an early form of it, prevalent in remoter times. It is further possible, in view of the Letters to the Dead, that some form of ancestor-cult was maintained privately in historical times, apart from the official national religion. A similar practice may have existed in Mesopotamia, for there, as in China, prayers were put up for progeny, to ensure the maintenance of the rites for the welfare of parents in the Afterlife. Such prayers seem to be unknown in ancient Egypt but, in view of the Mesopotamian example, would cause no surprise if, with some later discovery, they should appear; even to-day the Egyptian Muslim, though it is contrary to his religious teaching, devotes much attention to his deceased parents and family in their graves.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

#### Ancient Hebrew Social Life and Custom as indicated in Law, Narrative and Metaphor.

9 By R. H. Kennett. *The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy*, 1931. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1933. 114 pp. Price 6s. net.

This series of Schweich Lectures delivered at the British Academy in December, 1931, by the late Professor Kennett shortly before his death, contains material of considerable interest to anthropologists inasmuch as it treats scientifically of ancient Hebrew social life and custom as revealed in the literature of the Old Testa-



ment. True, this field of investigation has now been pretty thoroughly examined, but the author brings to his task specialized knowledge accumulated through a long life spent in Biblical researches. The quotations have been verified by Professor F. C. Burkitt, who undertook to see the book through the press after Kennett's death, and worked up from the author's notes the concluding section (pp. 79-89), together with the peroration taken from a description of an actual ordeal by fire witnessed by the author's son, the late Austin Kennett, when he was Administrative Officer for the Egyptian Government in Sinai.

The evidence discussed in these lectures covers most of the features of ancient Hebrew social life and custom ranging from birth rites to mourning ceremonies, social organization, and legislative administration to terracing and pottery-making. The great variety of subjects treated in such a small compass (i.e., in less than a hundred pages) inevitably makes for superficiality and sketchiness, but many useful leads are given which may tempt others to further and more detailed investigation. For instance, we are told that no account of the firing of earthenware occurs in the canonical Scriptures, but some sort of glazing with silver dross is mentioned in Lamentations IV. 2, and in the Apocrypha there are references to both the glazing and the furnace (Ecclesi. xxxviii. 30). By giving innumerable quotations in the form of references to the text in footnotes a great saving in space is secured, but unless the reader is sufficiently familiar with the narratives to recognize their contents at a glance, the method adds enormously to his labours in the serious perusal of this useful volume.

E. O. JAMES.

**Histoire des Religions de l'Archipel Paumotu.**  
By A.-C. Eugene Caillot. Paris: Leroux, 1932.  
146 pp.

From traditions collected principally in the islands of Hao and Makemo, M. Caillot has endeavoured to reconstruct the former life of the people of the Tuamotu archipelago (this name for the group has now generally replaced that which the author uses). In the opening chapters he infers that in the first instance there was a population known by the unflattering appellation of 'Dog-Men,' from their hairiness, and that these folk were possibly of Negrito origin. But his statement that Negritos formerly occupied nearly all the Polynesian islands is not acceptable in the light of modern research, and his specific attribution is therefore questionable. Following these people were the 'Red Men,' probably so-called from the colour of their skin; they were exterminated by the ancestors of the present inhabitants. These latter were, at first of nomadic maritime habit, and two canoes of them are alleged to have been blown away from their home as far as New Zealand. Tired at last of this wandering mode of life their descendants settled down to a more sedentary existence.

After this historical sketch, of slight interest, the author proceeds to deal with the native ideas of the soul, cosmogony, the gods, and some aspects of ritual. Here there is some valuable data, but by reason of the reconstructive method employed it is difficult to disentangle from the author's own somewhat naïve generalizations, the actual material provided by his informants. The accounts, given verbatim, of the origin of the world, of human sacrifice and of gods, together with some songs are of most value here. It is difficult to say how far the distinction drawn between the popular religion of the spirits (*varuga*) and the 'official' religion of the gods (*atua*), and the itemization of totemism and of fetishism as 'religions' is borne out in fact. The suggestion that

the latter two were probably earlier than the former is one of those facile generalizations for which no adequate evidence is offered. The account of the introduction of mission influences to the Tuamotu group, and the description of the state of the natives at the present day, as concerns religious beliefs and practices, is, however, extremely interesting, and this work, together with a previous volume, allows M. Caillot to be ranked among the earlier students of 'culture contact' in the Pacific.

RAYMOND FIRTH.

#### An Introduction to the Anthropology of the Near East in Ancient and Recent Times.

By C. U. Ariens Kappers. With a chapter on Near Eastern blood groups, by Leland W. Parr. Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandische Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1934. 200 pp., figs. 95. Price £1 7s.

This important work is valuable not only for the data it brings together on the welter of races and movements in the Near East from the earliest times, but also for the genetical way in which anthropometric measurements are treated. Using almost entirely the cephalic or cranial index, the author has introduced the new and illuminating method of marshalling into a frequency curve all the data from a given set of measurements, instead of citing merely the mean index for a given race or group of people. In this way it is shown that the graph of cephalic indices for males or females of the Armenian and certain other races is bimodal, the modes for females being at 83 and 86, and for males at 84 and 86. This in turn is interpreted in terms of definite genetic units for head shape, these units having arisen through mutation. A third peak or mode at 77-78 is found to be due to Kurdish admixture.

The whole problem of head shape and its racial significance is broadly discussed in the opening chapter, in which the conclusion is reached that while minor changes in head shape may result from migration to very different conditions, yet the relative fixity of hereditary head-form generally asserts itself. The author points out that the frequency curves of cephalic index should only be used comparatively among related peoples where the results can be checked by other cranial measurements as well as by archaeological and linguistic studies and the blood groups.

Dr. Parr, who spent six years making blood tests of various Near Eastern peoples, contributes his results in a final chapter, but they are referred to throughout the work, and in general confirm the conclusions regarding racial relationships reached on other grounds. An instance is the close relationship of the Assyrians and Lebanese to the Armenians, as indicated by both methods. The aberrant blood-group ratios of the Samaritans Dr. Parr ascribes to the chance result of a high degree of inbreeding.

The main body of this work cannot be considered in a short review, but suffice it to say that it teems with problems of the Indo-Aryans and of racial relationship, from the neolithic people of Central Europe to the ancient and modern populations of India. The author discriminately handles a vast array of evidence from many sources, but one of the outstanding features of this work is the advance made in the application of genetical conceptions to the problems of human head shape.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

#### BIOGRAPHY.

**The Recollections of a Geographer.** By E. A. Reeves. London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1935. 8vo. 224 pp. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Those—and they are many—who appreciate Mr. Reeves' fifty-five years of devoted service to the Royal



Geographical Society will know what to expect and to enjoy in this book; from the early days under John Coles, in the famous 'map-room,' to the closing chapters of curious 'psychic experiences,' and the War, a true

incident which was not 'psychic' at all. So much depends in anthropological field-work on accurate cartography that this memorial of the teacher and friend of many of us deserves brief mention here. J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Monogamy and the Ratio of the Sexes.

**13** SIR,—At the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in London in 1934, the perennial problem of polygamy received considerable attention in the African Section. The important point of the ratio of the sexes was brought up by more than one speaker, and my husband quoted actual figures in support of his contention that, in certain East African tribes, the disproportion between the sexes is of a magnitude calling for most serious consideration on the part of those who advocate uncompromising monogamy. So far from treating his figures as serious, however, more than one missionary who was present swept them aside as manifestly impossible and absurd, fantastic 'facts' unworthy of notice. As compared with 92 males per 100 females in England and Wales in 1931, these figures showed under 80 males to 100 females in some tribes. They were taken from the Tanganyika census of 1931.

I determined to take up the challenge on my return to Tanganyika, and I have begun to collect information regarding child mortality from the women of the tribes living in the Ulunga Valley, women living in all parts of the valley and ranging from chiefs' wives in big villages to the wives of the most backward peasants in tiny remote hamlets. My growing series of figures consistently supports the census: it would appear that the Tanganyika Government was telling the truth after all!

So far I have obtained the histories of 423 babies, of whom 213 were boys and 212 girls. But of these children, 140 boys have died as compared with 118 girls, leaving us with 73 males and 94 female survivors, roughly 78·5 per cent. ratio of males to females.

The deaths occurred as follows:—

	♂	♀
Before weaning (say, 2½ years) ... ..	91	75
After weaning but not over, say, 7 years ... ..	32	23
Over 7 years and under puberty ... ..	5	8
Adult ... ..	3	4
Under puberty, age unknown ... ..	9	8
	140	118

In 81 cases (43♂, 38♀) of death before weaning, I have been able to obtain further information, viz:—

	♂	♀
First month ... ..	8	5
Over a month but not yet crawling ... ..	14	19
Crawling but not yet walking ... ..	19	9
Walking ... ..	2	5
	43	38

The question of the ratio of the sexes is too often buried by those whose attention is focussed on the moral and religious issues involved. Sometimes they brush aside disquieting evidence as in the discussions at the Congress; at others they err in another direction in drawing the unwarranted conclusion that as the majority of Africans have, in fact, only one wife, the African at heart appreciates the moral beauty and intrinsic superiority of monogamous marriage. Even if they take the disproportion shown in my series, a disproportion far greater than they were willing to accept at the

Congress, the preponderance of monogamy, being a matter of plain arithmetic and not of moral theory or religious conviction, proves nothing one way or the other.

It is my intention to pursue this inquiry into child mortality till I have obtained a really long series, but in the meantime I publish these figures to show the shape the facts are taking—the sexes level at birth but a differential death-rate rapidly upsetting their equality. Here, then, is a large problem for those who intend to make Africa monogamous, but here, too, is an indication of the road by which that goal may be reached. Not dogma but hygiene, not religious sanctions but infant welfare, not the saving of souls but the saving of infant lives will lead Africa thither.

G. M. CULWICK.  
*Kiberege, Tanganyika Territory.*

### Two hitherto unknown Prehistoric sites in Upper Egypt.

**14** SIR,—During the course of a voyage made in February, 1933, in the province of Sohâg, in search of material on the subject of Egyptian ethnography, I had the fortune to spend a few days at Girga, a town some 500 km. south of Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile.

*Mousterian site at Nag' el-Deir.*—Almost opposite, on the right bank, is the village of Nag' el-Deir, which is situated on the edge of the cultivation, which is here a kilometre and a half wide, and lies between the river and the desert, to the east of which are the high plateaux of Gebel el-Sharqi.

The flint implements, dating to the middle paleolithic period, were mostly found in the alleys of the modern village, which is bounded on the north-east by the well-known archaic cemetery excavated by Prof. G. A. Reisner, *The early dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Deir*, Leipzig, (I. II. 1908, University of California Publications, Egyptian Archaeology, t. II: III. 1932, Oxford), and on the south-west by the Coptic convent of Deir el-Malak. It appears that the site containing these implements occupies an area of about 200 metres square, which comprises the modern village together with about 15 metres square to the east of it.

The specimens which we found consist of a series of flint implements with white patina, having the characteristics of classical Mousterian points. Although none of them is out of the ordinary, they enable us to add to the map of Egypt a new settlement of the Mousterian period. Further, they establish the fact that the river, unencumbered by any natural barrier on the east, covered, in the Mousterian age, the area under cultivation to-day.

*Capsian station at Khôr Hardân.*—Leaving the village of Nag' el-Deir and passing northwards over the Reisner excavations, we reach the limestone plateaux. On the point of the cliff which forms the right bank of a dry water-course, locally known as Khôr Hardân, we discovered a surface site with Capsian implements (upper paleolithic), mixed with the more ancient Mousterian.

The flints have a brown patina, a typical colour of the Upper Egyptian implements.

The position of the Nag' el-Deir site, situated as it is in the mouth of the wâdy Khôr Hardân, shows that this wâdy had already dried up by the Mousterian period.



The occupants of the Mousterian site and later, of the Capsian site, had therefore to use the water of the river, which then washed the foot of the cliff, which lies about 1,200 metres distant. CHARLES A. BACHATLY.

#### Rearticulated Skeletons from Pre-Columbian Burials.

**15** Sir,—During the summer just past, excavations were carried out on a pre-Columbian village site and cemetery in Michigan, for the Division of Great Lakes Archaeology of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan. Two examples of rearticulation of the bones of human skeletons were found.

These were secondary burials, i.e., the burials of bones of bodies which had probably seen previous burial elsewhere, to be exhumed after disintegration of the flesh. In both instances the femora were reversed and upside down, with the heads not in the acetabulae, but thrust through the obturator-foramina. The heads had been shaved off somewhat for that purpose. Both skeletons appear to be those of females. One was accompanied by a male, in close juxtaposition, and the other by a male and three children.

So far as I am able to find, re-articulation has not before been observed for the New World. Report of its occurrence elsewhere will be greatly appreciated. Ann Arbor, Michigan. E. F. GREENMAN.

"Is the Savage a Scientist?" (Cf. MAN, 1935, 184, 193, 194, 212.)

**16** Sir,—After forty years of work as an engineer, during which I have seen the development of several inventions, I cannot accept Lord Raglan's dicta.

I urge that the culture hero was a very real, if remote, person. Less remote heroes have already the semblance of cults allotted to them, e.g., the Institution of Electrical Engineers uses the head of Michael Faraday to adorn its diplomas of membership, its invitations to its social functions, and dignifies its awards with such a title as the Faraday Premium; and George Stephenson is similarly a cultural hero of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers.

They were not men of leisure, so *pace* Lord Raglan and Dr. Harrison, we are wrong to call them inventors.

Yet in all seriousness I suggest that it is not leisure but a work-irked desire for it, coupled with inspired aspiration after laziness that has accounted for much of what we call invention.

The savage is a craftsman, though his products have not the redundant mechanical exactitude of the output of a turret lathe. Any intelligent hard-working human being is a potential inventor. The tractive forces are the same to-day as in paleolithic days, the desire for leisure to devote to other things; the desire to save effort, or to obtain something not easily obtainable, to find out what would happen if —. That he will have to face much embarrassment when he encounters the tribal tabu of to-day is as certain as it ever was.

I specially commend to Lord Raglan the case of the operation of the valves on James Watt's first pumping-engine. A boy was employed to open and close these at the beginning and end of each stroke. He became rapidly tired of the monotonous physical effort and connected the valves by string to the beam of the engine. In due course Watt substituted valve rods and levers, but the invention of a mechanically operated and correctly timed valve gear had been achieved.

I suggest that the environment of this boy was not far removed from that of the average inventor. Redundant monotonous work requiring neither muscular effort nor mental concentration caused a desire for leisure, and therefore resulted in invention.

I write, though, only as an engineer, an occupation in

which I find among my confreres that it is only those who are really busy who find time to do things both new and old in new ways. It may well be that in the higher arts of music, sculpture, architecture or painting, society must needs develop a leisured class. That I should regard as something higher than, and different from, the inventions which characterize the mechanical devices which we call by that name. W. P. DIGBY.

Sir,—It is much to be regretted that Lord Raglan should use the word 'attack' in connexion with my letter; nothing of that nature being intended.

I have asked Lord Raglan who the contemporaries or predecessors of the Spanish cave-dwellers might have been, who invented the bow that the latter depicted, and where their remains may be found. An answer on this point, so important to his theory, is apparently not forthcoming.

Marshall-Islanders' map is a map *par excellence* for illiterates; as different from the ordinary chart as anything serving the same purpose could possibly be. It is just this that suggests that it might have been the invention of illiterates.

We have read of funeral barks and even of 'coffin' ships, but these were primarily ships and not coffins. There can be little doubt also that boat-shaped coffins were preceded by boat-shaped boats.

Lord Raglan's apprehension regarding a treatise on the bow-making of the Bhils can only be equalled by the equanimity with which we may await a really convincing picture of his hypothetical wealthy and leisured inventors planning a pioneer pleasure-cruise in a coffin.

D. H. GORDON, Major.

#### The Mopos (New Guinea) 'Mummies.'

**18** Sir,—The discovery, made some eighteen months ago by a prospector, Mr. Hall-Best, in the Morobe goldfields district (New Guinea) of numerous 'mummified' corpses, in the lime-stone caves at Mopos, is likely to serve as an important link in New Guinea research work. Present-day natives are unable to give any explanation of this method of disposing of the dead, even as they are ignorant of the uses for the huge stone pestles and mortars which have been found in this area.

Experts have not yet had an opportunity of examining the 'mummies,' and their opinions are eagerly awaited. Dr. E. T. Brennan, principal medical officer of New Guinea, advances the theory of a simple dehydration process due to the action of the limestone caves.

The accompanying photograph depicts the position in which the 'mummies' were found.

No racial or chronological identification has yet been made. E. L. GORDON-THOMAS. Rabaul, New Guinea.



'MUMMY' FROM MOPOS









FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

KORKU MEMORIAL TABLETS, CENTRAL PROVINCES, INDIA.



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

India.

With Plate B.

Gordon.

**Korku Memorial Tablets.** By Major D. H. Gordon, Pachmarhi, Central Provinces, India.

**19** Opposite to the Tahsil offices at Pachmarhi, the hot weather seat of the Government of the Central Provinces, there is a large mango tree. At the foot of this tree there is a small shrine, consisting of an upright stone with crude vague carving, and a small platform. Grouped round this shrine are a considerable number of carved wooden tablets (Fig. 1). The origin and purpose of these tablets is not widely known, and, in view of the fact that there may possibly be some remote connection between these tablets and the local cave paintings, it will clear the air to place their true significance and the identity of their makers on record.

These tablets are only made by and for various sub-clans of Korkus, of these I have details concerning the Bhopas, Darsamas and Dhikus. The first two deposit their tablets at the shrine at Pachmarhi, and the last-named at Pagāra, some eight miles out on the main road to Pipariya, the railway station for Pachmarhi.

The name of the deity of the shrine is *Guru Pitar Deo*, the Teacher, God the Father; and the tablets are called *Deo pitar kī gātā*, the memorials of God the Father. For every member of these sub-clans who dies a tablet is supposed to be deposited by their relatives as a memorial. As a rule the tablets are carved in the months of Baisākh (April-May) and Pūs (November-December). These months are chosen as the crops are just gathered and work is slack and there is a certain amount of money to hand to provide the necessary feast.

The tablet is rough hewn from *sāguan* (teak) in the forest and is brought to the village by about mid-day. The relatives who are depositing the tablet make an arrangement for its preparation with anyone who has the art of carving them. This is not an hereditary family occupation: anyone feeling the call or urge to be a carver of tablets may acquire the art and carve them. The tablet is carved at the house of the folk who are having it prepared. All their *gunga bhai* (caste fellows) sit around and talk while the carving is in progress.

When the tablet is ready fairly late in the evening, it is ceremonially washed with water. Then it is set up and *puja* is done to it by the sacrifice of a goat and of coconuts. A small sum of money is laid beside it as a token payment, but the carver gets nothing for his work. He takes up this money which is spent on *gur* (unrefined cane sugar) which is distributed to the *gunga bhai*.

A feast is then made ready which includes the sacrificed goat and *kudai* or *kutki* (a grain), and all the *gunga bhai* join in. This lasts until well into the night and culminates in *Khe! tamasha*, consisting of taking the tablet and dancing with it, passing it from one to another, carrying it on their shoulders. While doing this they sing the refrain '*Bhale mache Kure*,' to which they cannot assign any meaning. This sentence was submitted to a French missionary, one of the few Europeans with a good knowledge of Korku; he pronounced it to be composed of no Korku words known to him, but appeared to be of Hindi derivation. I can only hazard the suggestion that it may mean 'Misfortune!' 'cried the young men,' but it is extremely unlikely that this is correct, and in any case it is, to the singers, only a refrain like *Hey nonny nonny no!* or 'With a down a down derry.'



After the 'Khel tamasha' the tablet is taken outside the village and set against a tree. The next morning the immediate relatives of the deceased set off with the tablet for Pachmarhi or Pagāra, and there deposit it at the shrine making an offering of coconuts to *Guru Pitar Deo*.

There are a great number of tablets at the Pachmarhi shrine, and, even allowing for the ravages of white ants, from the good condition of those that are moderately old, the oldest that are crumbling away must be of great age, and others have possibly crumbled to dust since even more remote times. My informants, who were Bhopas and Dhikus, held that their clans had always deposited tablets since time immemorial.

Without exception all the tablets have the sun and moon carved at the top. It is said that these are carved first before any other part of the design as being the foremost of the deities. The bulk of the tablets are about two and a half feet high, and two and a half inches thick. They have panels of horsemen, or of men dancing, and the sides are cut with a chevron pattern. The photographs show their style far better than any description (Plate B, figs. 2, 3, 4). I can find no tradition that explains the designs. The motifs are themselves traditional in that they are handed down without change from one generation of carvers to another. Women are supposed only to have the dancing men on foot and no horsemen, but there is hardly a single tablet without a horseman.

It would appear that there are at least four places where such tablets are deposited and there may well be more. The place at Pagāra, which is only two hundred yards off the main road, has relatively



FIG. 5. STONE PILLARS AT TĀMIA.



FIG. 6. STONE PILLAR AT TĀMIA.

few tablets, and those appear to have been deposited within recent years. I believe that the original place where the Dhikus placed their tablets was Harrakot, but this is relatively very difficult of access; large numbers of very old tablets are reported as lying there.

As to the origin of these tablets they appear in my mind to be connected with certain stone pillars. Seven of these pillars (Figs. 5 and 6) are to be found grouped under a tree at Tāmia, a Korku village, twenty miles in a straight line from Pachmarhi. The shrine stone and two other fallen fragments at Pachmarhi appear to me to be of a similar character. These stone pillars bear medallions depicting either men with swords and shields, men with bows and arrows, men in pairs fighting or men on horseback. More important still, though it is a feature both of land grants, memorials, etc., all over India,



these pillars nearly all bear the sign of the sun and moon. Nothing definite seems to be known about them locally, but they are very similar to the class of 'Virgal' or hero-stones. With, however, the remains of very similar stone pillars at Pachmarhi in conjunction with wooden tablets, I feel certain that the latter are derived from the former. Further, many of the tablets at Pagāra and a few at Pachmarhi are square and carved on all four faces.

The photographs show clearly the style of the carvings on the stone pillars, and they bear more than a passing resemblance to the rock paintings of the same subjects. Anything that will assist in clearing up the problem of the authorship of even a section of the rock paintings of the Mahadeo Hills is valuable, and these tablets and pillars, connected as they are with a local aboriginal people, the Korkus, cannot in consequence be neglected.

**GLACIAL AND PLUVIAL EPISODES OF THE DILUVIUM OF THE OLD WORLD: A REVIEW AND TENTATIVE CORRELATION.** *Synopsis of a communication by Dr. S. A. Huzayyin, 17 December 1935. (MAN, 1935, 5.)*

**20** The comparative study of glacial and pluvial episodes of the Old World is still at its beginning. The present paper is meant as an objective review of the evidence as it stands; and any tentative correlation that may be put forward must remain subject to correction and modification. The subject is approached from a primarily physiographic point of view, though, for purposes of chronology, the archaeological data will be brought in whenever it is reasonably safe to do so. Problematical points, however, on which prehistorians are not agreed as yet (*e.g.*, the chronological place of the beginning of the Chellean) will be treated with due reserve. Only points on which there is a sufficiently large measure of agreement (such as the association of the evolved Mousterian with the last main glacial phase) will be used in dating and correlating climatic episodes. Also in the treatment of these latter, the system followed is to start with the latest phases and to proceed backwards towards the end of the Pliocene. This will not only mean that we should be starting with the phases about whose details we know relatively more, but it should also provide us with a more secure starting point. Geologists are not agreed amongst themselves as to when the Pleistocene started, or even whether it started at the same time in different parts of the world.

It has become abundantly clear from works in recent years that changes of climate in diluvial times were of more than local significance, and that, in order to gain a true perspective of the factors governing their sequence, they must be treated—at least in their general outline—on a wide basis. Strictly regional survey, however, is essential before any attempt at a more general correlation. For this purpose, the western half

of the Old World (with which the paper deals in particular) is to be divided into three main climatic belts: the Northern, the Middle and the Equatorial. Each of these belts is in turn divided into smaller regions, the evidence for each of which is surveyed and weighed quite independently from that for the others. Zonal correlations along each of these belts are then attempted in the light of both physiographic (and biogeographical) and archaeological data. The correlations adopted may be briefly summarized as follows:—

*Along the N. Belt* (including N. Eurasia and the Alpine chains) the following sequence may be noted (beginning with the most recent): (1) a Post-Glacial warm phase, the 'Climatic Optimum' of N. Europe which was then warmer than it is at present; (2) a Late-Glacial phase of gradual melting of ice with stadia; still cold; (3) the last Glacial (Weichsel, equivalent of Würm); (4) the last Interglacial with three-fold division: warm (warmer than the present), cool, and relatively warm again; (5) the last-but-one Glacial (Saale or Riss) which was most extensive on the European Plain; (6) the first Interglacial which was exceptionally long and rather warm (and uninterrupted); (7) the first Glacial (Elster or Mindel) which was especially extensive on the mountain blocks; and (8) the pre-Glacial phase which included the Günz Glacial of parts of the Alps and a corresponding phase of 'refroidissement' in the North.

*Along the Middle Belt* (Saharan latitudes) a somewhat different sequence as follows: (1) a so-called 'Neolithic' fairly wet phase (roughly middle of 6th mill. to middle of 3rd mill. B.C.) which was apparently also warmer than the present; (2) a Post-Pluvial phase of increasing



aridity which reached its maximum in late Upper-Palaeolithic times; (3) the second Pluvial with two sub-maxima in the interior of the Sahara (where the slightest oscillations of rainfall were recorded) and presumably only one maximum in more favoured areas; (4) the only true Interpluvial, which was rather short but very dry (and was presumably also characterized by wide crust-movements and volcanic activity); (5) the first Pluvial, which was very long (constituting the main feature of the Diluvium) and presumably also very warm (with warm sea waters) towards its middle part; and (6) prior to this phase, there was a preparatory phase marked by relative 'refroidissement,' and gradual on-coming of Pluvial conditions.

The sequence *along the Equatorial Belt* was similar in its general outline to that of Middle latitudes.

Then comes the question of the general correlations of these changes. Here we are confronted with the paramount difficulty of finding an explanation for the climatic changes of the Diluvium. Theories concerning this point vary widely, and none of them is sufficient. Perhaps the most reasonable solution—if any such solution could be attained—would be in a combination of more than one theory. It is clear, however, that it serves no practical purpose to pick and choose between these various theories; and it has therefore been decided in the present paper to leave aside the question of the 'primary causes' (astronomical, geophysical, etc.) of climatic changes, as the problem cannot be satisfactorily solved in the present state of our knowledge. On the other hand, the problem of the 'secondary factors' involved in such changes could be tackled much more profitably. Such factors are usually connected with vast meteorological changes which take place during phases of abnormal disturbances in the general climatic régime of the main belts of the globe. During a phase of glacial advance in N. latitudes the pressure gradients over the globe became steeper. Westerlies which usually pass along the latitudes of the European Plain were diverted southwards, and the Mediterranean and the N. Sahara received more rainfall. Also on the S. edge of the Sahara there would be more frequent meeting of the 'cold air fronts' (advancing from the north) and the 'warm fronts' of the monsoons. Some of the

cold fronts would reach as far as the Equatorial belt, where precipitation would become increased. A glacial phase in the North may therefore be safely taken to correspond to a pluvial in Middle and Lower latitudes. An Interglacial, on the other hand, presents a much more complicated case. In Europe, intervals between Glacials were either warmer or cooler than at present. During an exceptionally warm Interglacial (or part of an Interglacial) one would expect a general acceleration in the wind-system over the globe, as a result of the rising temperature. Remote centres of the continents would be reached by air currents penetrating from the sea. There would be an increase in evaporation which must ultimately take the form of precipitation. This would be particularly the case if the rise in the temperature of the air were accompanied by a rise in that of the waters of the seas (as may be testified, e.g., by the spread of warm malacological fauna northwards and southwards from the Equator). Also an increase in the amount of moisture available would mean an increase in the latent heat in the air and a development of storms and cyclones. Furthermore, the tracks along which storms proceeded would become much less defined than under present conditions. In regions like the interior of the Sahara 'stray' depression-storms from the Mediterranean would have a beneficial effect upon regions which are now almost entirely dry. Along the sub-Equatorial belt the monsoons would attain exceptional power. Convective rainfall would also increase, and the same amount of water could be dropped as rain, for a larger number of times than at present, during a given period. We therefore see that a warm Interglacial would also correspond to increased liquid precipitation over most parts of the world (especially Middle and Lower latitudes). On the other hand, a cool (very slightly colder than at present) Interglacial (or part of Interglacial) would be accompanied by conditions different from those of either a Glacial proper or a warm Interglacial. There would be general relaxing in the aerial circulation over the globe as a whole. Conditions over N. latitudes would not be cold enough (especially in the summer season) to allow the development of snow fields and ice sheets, and there would therefore be little or no diversion of the Westerlies southwards. In Lower latitudes such winds as the monsoons would be weaker, and seasonal rainfall much



## TENTATIVE GENERAL CORRELATION AND CLIMATIC EPISODES OVER THE OLD WORLD.

N. Latitudes		Mediterranean.	Saharo-Arabian Belt.	Equatorial Belt (E. Africa).	Geol. phases in Mid. & Equat. Latitudes.
N. Europe.	Alpine Belt.				
Post Climatic Optimum.	?	Desiccation; oscillations.	Desiccation; oscillations.	Slight oscillations (Nakuran, etc.)	Recent.
Climatic Optimum	Warm phase	Warm? Rise in sea-level?	"Neolithic" warm (?) wet phase.	Nakuran wet phase.	
Beginning of Post-glacial.	?	Gradual desiccation.	Desert conditions (end of Pluvial II onwards). Fossil dunes?	Dry phase.	Post-Diluvian (Transition).
Late-glacial stadia.	Late-glacial stadia (Bühl, etc.)	Post-Monastirian regression. Pluvial with sub-maxima.	Pluvial II (with two sub-maxima in South) Partly cool.	Gamblian ii	
Dani-glacial Retreat.	Achen			Drier interval	Up. Diluvium.
Weichsel	Würm I and II			Gamblian i	
S.-W. Inter-glacial (three-fold).	R.-W. Inter-glacial.	Monastirian transgression. Dry interval? Volcanic activity.	Interpluvial. Fossil dunes. Volcanic activity.	Interpluvial. Volcanic activity.	Mid. Diluvium.
Saale	Riss	Regression. Presumably cool and wet?	Pluvial I. Presumably warm in middle. Major physiographic phase.	Kamasian Pluvial (warmer in middle?). Major physiographic phase.	L. Diluvium.
E.-S. Inter-glacial.	M.-R. Inter-glacial.	Tyrrhenian transgression (warm waters). Warm-wet.			
Elster	Mindel	Regression. Presumably cool and wet?			
Pre-glacial	G.-M. Inter-glacial.	Milazzian and Sicilian phases. Cold (and cold waters).	Pre-pluvial. Gradual oncoming of cool-wet conditions.	Pre-pluvial phase.	Pre-Diluvium.
	Günz				

(No time scale.)

N.B.—Abbreviations:—G., M., R., W., & E., S., W. indicate the glacial phases of the Alps and N. Europe respectively.



reduced. Convectional rainfall over the Equatorial belt would also become less abundant. This is the type of phase during which one would expect interpluvial conditions over Middle and Equatorial latitudes.

With these points in mind an attempt is made at a general correlation of climatic changes. The main point in which this attempt differs from previous correlations is that whereas it is usually assumed that Glacials and Interglacials corresponded in time with Pluvials and Interpluvials respectively, we find that the question of correspondence was more complicated than that. It is true that a Glacial in the North must (in all probability) have corresponded with a Pluvial in more southerly latitudes, but an Interglacial did not always correspond with an Interpluvial. It is hoped that this cardinal point in the question of correlations may help to account for the obvious discrepancy between the numbers of Glacials and Pluvials in Northern and in more Equatorial latitudes respectively.

The summary of the suggested correlations is given in the appended Table. The following points may be repeated: (1) the 'Climatic Optimum' of the North corresponded to the

so-called 'Neolithic' wet phase of Saharan and Equatorial latitudes. This was a phase of relative rise in the temperature of the air and of the waters of the seas. (2) The Weichsel (or Würm) Glacial, together with its late-Glacial retreat-stages, corresponded to the second Pluvial with its two sub-maxima in certain parts. (3) The middle (cool) part of the Saale-Weichsel (or Riss-Würm) Interglacial corresponded to the only true Interpluvial recorded, a short one. The later and (more particularly) the earlier parts of the same Interglacial were relatively warm and may have corresponded to moderately Pluvial conditions in more southerly latitudes. (4) The first two Glacials (Elster and Saale, or Mindel and Riss), together with the intervening Interglacial, corresponded to the first and major Pluvial of Middle and Equatorial latitudes. The evidence available is in support of the Elster-Saale (or Mindel-Riss) Interglacial having been marked by a rise in the temperature of the air and the seas, at least in sub-Equatorial and Middle latitudes. (5) And, finally, the pre-Glacial phase of Europe (including the Günz) corresponded to the preparatory pre-Pluvial phase of Middle and Lower latitudes.

#### Evolution of Art.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EARLY DRAGON-FORMS. By G. D. Hornblower, F.S.A.

Hornblower.

**21** The objects represented in Figures 1 and 2 provide an interesting addition to those shown in my previous article in MAN, 1933, 85.

(1) Fig. 1 is the Chinese bronze of the Han period, referred to on p. 85 of that article; it was published in the *Illustrated London News* (22 October, 1932) by Mr. Upham Pope, to whom and to the publishers I am indebted for permission to reproduce it here. The treatment is characteristic of the free rhythmic style of the period, but the main subject is evidently of near kin to that of the large class of Luristan bronzes illustrated in my previous article, MAN, 1933, Plate F, 1 and 2.

Fig. 2 represents a bronze piece lately brought from Persia and is shown here as indicating clearly the dress of the Gilgamesh-like central figure: it is of a distinctly Mesopotamian type, a point to which attention may be usefully drawn, since the Mesopotamian connection has been rather ignored in some recent writings on Luristan bronzes.

(2) Since the appearance of my first article,

several ancient objects from China have been published which bring fresh light on those previously dealt with, especially in the matter of dates. The chief ones appear in Bishop Wm. White's book *The Tombs of Old Lo-Yang*, Shanghai, 1934; see also *Illustrated London News*, 1933, 28 October, 4 November and 9 December; 1934, 10 March, 3 November. The date of these tombs is in dispute; it is generally agreed that the style of the finds is characteristic of the art of Han, but a set of ceremonial bells found among them is dated to Chou, of either the sixth or fourth century B.C. Bishop White proposes accordingly that notions founded on stylistic evidence must be changed, but it is not unlikely that the bells were of the nature of heirlooms and were not deposited in the tomb till some two or three hundred years after they were cast (see R. L. Hobson, *British Museum Quarterly*, VIII, 4, p. 147). Among the object from Lo-Yang is a bronze finial in the form of an alligator identical with that shown in my first article, MAN, 1933, Plate G, 2, which may



therefore rank with the Lo-Yang specimen (Bishop White, *op. cit.*, Plate LXIX, no. 168, and p. 99, calls the creature a lizard). Alligators seem certainly to be figured on the base of the Chou bronze vessel illustrated in de Tizac, *L'Art Chinois*, Plate 39; another bronze vessel, of the Shang-Yin period, recently acquired privately from China, has exactly the same feature, and others are likely to appear in the forthcoming Chinese exhibition at Burlington

take their place in the stream of naturalistic animal art which has engrossed all primitive artists, beginning as far as we know, in the Palaeolithic age.

For the dating of the Luristan bronzes reference may be made to an article by R. W. Hutchinson in *Iraq*, vol. I, part ii (November, 1934) p. 168,



FIG. 1. CHINESE BRONZE OF THE HAN PERIOD.

House. Jade figures seem often founded on alligators, but with limbs so floriated as almost to disguise the original character of the beast (see for example, de Tizac, Plate 11c).

The decorated scabbard-jade of MAN, 1933, Plate H, 1, may also rank with the objects from Lo-Yang for its practical identity with the specimen published by the Bishop (*op. cit.*, Plate CXL, 339b). I have had the fortunate opportunity of examining these objects with the Bishop as well as those from An-Yang, of earlier date, of which he has published notes in *Illustrated London News*, 1935, 23 March, 20 April and 18 May.

Bishop White has further concluded that the 'Animal Style' arose in China (*Illustrated London News*, 18 May, 1935, pp. 888 ff). But the decorations which carried him to this conclusion do not seem to come within the strict confines of that style, lacking its special features: they rather



FIG. 2. BRONZE FROM PERSIA.

treating of the Talyche finds mentioned on p. 84, line 9, of my former article; he proposes 1500-1200 B.C. on the evidence of the short swords: these are placed by de Morgan in the Early Bronze to the Early Iron ages, inclusive (*Mission scientifique en Perse*, vol. IV, 1896, pp. 61 ff). The Luristan bronzes also may extend, as many think, over a considerable period of time.

(3) In MAN, 1933, p. 85, reference was made to the Emperor Wu's expeditions to the West in search of horses of superior breed. Pelliot's remarks, as Professor Yelts has kindly informed me, did not extend to the whole story of the expeditions, which he regards as historical, but to certain parts of it. Ample details are published by Professor Yelts in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, IX (Minns Volume), pp. 231-255 (Helsingfors, 1934), on *The Horse: a Factor in Early Chinese History*. His opinion, contrary to Rostovtzeff's, is that there is no evidence of Chinese contact with



Sarmatians, and he repeats his earlier suggestion that the 'animal style' quite possibly originated in China (see also his article, *J. R. Asiatic Society*, 1935, p. 474); but, as he says, there can be no certainty in the matter until further discoveries definitely settle the question of priority.

(4) With regard to the Chinese adoption of military equipment, especially for cavalry, from the western 'barbarians,' details were published by Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1929, pp. 137 ff—a reference for which I am indebted, with other help, to Professor Yetts. He quotes the case of a prince of Chao, Wu-ling, who is recorded as fitting out mounted bowmen in the 'barbarian' style as early as 307 B.C., fifty years before the conquest by Ts'in—evidently an exceptional case. The peculiar belt-buckle then introduced was actually called after the Huns in a Chinese poem written about this date.

An additional circumstance pointing to cultural connections in the regions concerned is the practice of horse-sacrifice, at the burial of chiefs, followed by the Scythians, as recorded by Herodotus (IV, 71) and by the early Chinese (see Bishop White, ch. II, and *Illustrated London News*, 3 November, 1934, p. 697). The reconstruction of a Chinese tomb figured in the latter publication shows a casing of timbers and other features much like those of ancient Horsemen-Chiefs of Central Asia who used such casings till at least the end of the seventh century A.D. (see the article on the Antiquities of Katanda (Altai) in *J.R.A.I.*, LV, 1925). The bronze canopy from Lo-Yang (*Illustrated London News*, 4 November, 1933, p. 724) is comparable to the canopies erected over coffins of Horsemen-Chiefs mentioned on p. 84 of my previous article.

De Tizac supports the conclusions of Tallgren and Borovka, mentioned in my former article (p. 84, last paragraph); he says: "If sedentary China has created the forms, nomad Turan has supplied much of the decoration"; and sets out to make good his assertion (*L'Art Chinois classique*, p. 31).

(5) The object of these discussions is, strictly, to suggest a derivation, not for the dragon itself, or *lung*, but for the partly serpentine form with which the Chinese have usually clothed their idea of it since the days of Han. The idea pre-dated this form by unknown centuries and its origins are hardly discernible; it has assumed various concrete forms at different times, sometimes so various, as L. C. Hopkins says (*J. R. Asiatic Soc.*, 1931, p. 805), that they do not even suggest one another. The dragon, in fact, to the Chinese mind, can take at will any form he chooses; he rules cloud, rain and storm and may accordingly derive from the thundercloud, beneficent, like it, to man, though of an aspect fierce and threatening. In this connection he is also associated by L. C. Hopkins with the rainbow (*J. R. A. S.*, 1931, pp. 603 ff) which he suggests was the origin of the penannular disks ending in dragon-heads mentioned on p. 80 of my first article, with a reference to Mr. Oscar Raphael's specimen. The Chinese seem to have adopted the writhing serpentine form for the dragon, within historical times, from the appearance of the storm-clouds of their country which, as observant travellers tell us, are often very dragon-like in their twisting shape; also the common Chinese representation of dragons appearing in the sky usually shows them as taking shape out of dark storm-clouds.

(6) In my first article (p. 86, line 6) mention was made of turtle carapaces as used in oracle-giving. Bishop White tells me that the actual part of the shell used as the belly-plate, or 'plastron' (line 9):—oracles on bone and turtleshell of the Shan-Ying period have lately been found in great quantities, and refer not only to that chief source of prosperity, rain, but also to the times propitious for sacrificial rites, war, hunting or harvesting.

(7) Corrigenda:—MAN, 1933, p. 80, line 15, for 'Gula and his dog' read 'her'; last par, line 5, for 'vol. XXII, pl. viii,' read 'XXVII, pl. iii'; p. 83, 3rd par. line 6: for 'B.C.,' read 'A.D.'; p. 85, 3rd line from bottom—in some copies: for 'crocodile' read 'alligator.'

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**Ritual Festivals and Tribal Cohesion in the Hinterland of the Gold Coast.** Summary of a communication presented by Dr. M. Fortes, 14 January, 1936.

In the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, tribal cohesion seems to be completely absent between the very autonomous settlements. The

Tale settlements, the subject of this paper, have no central political authority. They comprise two major groupings, the Namooos and the Tallis, living side by side, intermarrying, in continuous social and economic intercourse. Namooos are said to be of immigrant origin, the Tallis the primordial inhabitants. The former have chiefs (*Naa*), the latter have *Ten-*



*damas* (lit. owner of the land) as their clan heads. The two communities are separated by politico-religious barriers, expressed symbolically in the taboos which define the chief and the *tendaana* towards each other.

The overt mutual hostility of the two communities seems, however, to be limited by their homogeneous economic and social relations. Thus is engendered a basic polarity, an equilibrium of mutual responsibility. This is both expressed and annually re-established in the ritual festivals celebrated by each group, in succession.

These are New Year and First Fruit festivals. Ceremonial and dance form the two components of each festival. The ceremonial of each group differs completely from that of the other group's. The *Namoos* ceremonial is built round the chieftainship which is their prerogative; that of the *Tallis* round their cult of the *bo ar*, the supreme earth-shrine which is the dwelling-place of the ancestors of each clan. The *Tallis* have a sensational initiation ceremony for their young men, which forms the main part of their festival; the *Namoos* have no initiation.

But the divergence thus expressed in the content of some of the rites is balanced by the equilibrium and dependence expressed in others. In these, Chief and *Tendaana* re-impose upon each other the responsibility which each has for the other's welfare and which both have for the common good. The essential theme of the festivals is reunion of family and clan, renewal of the religious and magical bulwarks of social life, and especially the compulsory and inescapable mutual dependence, despite the barrier of taboo and office, of Chief and *Tendaana*, and hence of *Namoos* and *Tallis*.

Social cohesion among the *Tallis* settlements thus appears to be not some ultimate attribute of *Tale* society, but an equilibrium established upon a basic polarity which underlies all *Tale* political relations. It is significant that both the polarity and the equilibrium are expressed and established in ritual.

**Tribal Politics, Rainmaking, and the Levirate among the Christianised Kxatla of Bechuanaland Protectorate.** Summary of a communication presented by Professor I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.S.Af. 28 January, 1936.

Dissensions between the Chief of the Kxatla and his paternal uncle, who had formerly acted as regent on his behalf during his minority, came to a head in 1934, when the Administration found it necessary to intervene. As the result of an extensive inquiry the ex-regent was severely punished. The ostensible causes of the feud, as was revealed in the inquiry, were that the ex-regent had ever since the accession of his nephew failed to show him the respect due to him as Chief, and had even attempted to interfere with his ruling of the tribe. But the underlying causes, which were not brought to light, go back much further; and show how even in a tribe where Christianity has been the accepted religion for over forty years, ancient customs still exert considerable influence. The popular belief in the powers of the Chief to make rain still affects the attitude of the tribe towards its ruler; and the present feud, in one of its aspects, may be regarded as arising from the attempts of the ex-regent to obtain control of the rainmaking medicines and objects associated with the Chieftainship, in the hope that he could thus also retain control of the Chieftainship itself. A more powerful, but less well known, factor in producing hostility between the two men was the refusal of the ex-regent to conform to the ancient custom of the levirate, whereby he should have been responsible for looking after the mother of his young nephew. These two sources of feud were traced out in some detail, and it was then shown that owing to them the problem confronting the Administration was really far more complex than it appeared to be. The fact that such information was not available to the Administration points to the necessity of a more intensive study of tribal politics than has yet been attempted or sponsored officially. To the theoretical anthropologist the whole situation is of intense interest, both as an instance of the way in which ancient customs persist under Christianity, and for the moral that the study of institutions such as the Chieftainship cannot be successfully carried out unless the personalities concerned are also studied. In tribal politics it is the actors who shape the trend of events, and a purely formal account of political organization lacks all semblance of reality.

## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

### UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS: CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS.

All Orientalists and Indologists are familiar with Dr. Aufrecht's monumental work—the *Catalogus Catalogorum*—as an indispensable piece of apparatus for Oriental research. Since 1903, thirty-two years ago, when Dr. Aufrecht completed his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, many important collections of Sanskrit manuscripts within and outside India have come to the notice of scholars and several volumes of catalogues, giving reliable information regarding some thousands of Sanskrit manuscripts, have become available in Madras,

Bengal, Lahore, Bombay, Baroda, Dacca, Benares, Travancore, Central Provinces and Berar, Mysore and other centres. Highly valuable as are the materials contained in Dr. Aufrecht's great work, it is now found to be defective and incomplete, chiefly in view of the vast accession to the stock of knowledge about the literary treasures in Sanskrit that has been made available within the thirty-two years subsequent to the completion of Dr. Aufrecht's work. The need for supplementing Dr. Aufrecht's work was recently brought to the notice of the Madras University, which, in view of the large number of Sanskrit manuscripts in South India, has decided to undertake the preparation and publication of a



complete up-to-date *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit Manuscripts, utilizing the invaluable work already done by Dr. Aufrecht as the basis and containing references to all known Sanskrit manuscripts.

The University has entrusted the work to an Editorial Committee consisting of Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras (on leave), Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Editor-in-chief; Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, M.A., Officiating Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras; and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, B.A., D.Phil., Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

Since the success of the undertaking is largely dependent upon the co-operation and help of scholars interested in Sanskrit, the Madras University requests scholars and Heads of Institutions interested in Sanskrit and Indology to assist it by furnishing information on any or all of the following points:—(1) places where manuscripts are available, with particulars regarding owners and authors; (2) lists of manuscripts; (3) other suggestions for the preparation of the proposed new *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

Communications may be addressed to the Editor-in-chief, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Museum Buildings, Pantheon Road, Egmore, Madras.

## TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS: Seville, 12-20 October, 1935.

This Congress should have been held in 1934, but has been repeatedly postponed. The programme was issued in August, 1935, announcing one communication on 'The Spanish Spirit in the work of Colonization in Chile' and numerous excursions and entertainments. Actually 58 papers were submitted, of which 8 appear to have been American, 5 German, 3 French, 2 Dutch, 1 each Danish, Czech, Italian, Norwegian, and Polish; the remainder were in Spanish. They contained few novelties and elicited little discussion. Of the 350 registered members also, the majority were Spanish. About 60-70 attended the sections, which were assigned (1) to Archaeology and Arts, (2) to Ethnography and Languages, (3) to History.

The meetings were held a little outside Seville, on the bank of the Guadalquivir, in the dissolved convent of 'Nuestro Señora de los Remedios,' which now serves as an institute for 'Hispano-Cuban' history. The social side of the Congress was pleasant and well arranged. Visits were paid to the 'Archives of the Indies,' to the Biblioteca Colombina attached to the Cathedral, and to the Roman ruins of Italica.

The next Congress is to be held in Mexico City, followed by a visit to Lima, the Peruvian Government having offered a ship for the voyage from Mexico to a Pacific port.

## REVIEWS.

### PALÆONTOLOGY.

**Les Fossiles : Éléments de Paléontologie.**  
Par Marcellin Boule et Jean Piveteau.  
Paris, 1935. (Masson et Cie). vii + 899 pp., plates vi + 1,330 figs. in text. Price 170 fr.

In his preface to this work, Prof. Marcellin Boule, of the National Museum of Natural History, Paris, tells how it came to be written. He had been often urged to publish the lectures he gave at the Museum, but he hesitated because the term of his office was so near at hand. Nor would he have ever consented had not one of his most brilliant pupils, Dr. Jean Piveteau, now of the French School of Mines, come to his aid. The world therefore owes a debt to Dr. Piveteau for he has been the means of rescuing a unique library of knowledge—that which the devoted labours of his master have accumulated during these fifty years past.

On turning over the pages of this standard treatise we realize how vast the field of Palæontology has become. To impart the mere rudiments of the subject to students there are needed 900 pages, 225,000 words, 1,330 figs. in the text and 6 plates. Marcellin Boule maintains that brevity is the soul of wisdom and certainly he and his partner have practised what he has preached. Much text has been saved by the free use of illustrations. The text figures are excellent—many being wood

blocks prepared by Prof. Boule's predecessor, Albert Gaudry. These realistic illustrations will serve more than the mere student. They will help field workers to make a provisional diagnosis.

The brevity of the text is relieved by the orderly arrangement of contents. There were two modes of arrangement open to the authors. They might have arranged their fossils according to their place in the animal kingdom—beginning with the Protozoa and ending with Man. Or they might have arranged them in order of time, describing first those from the oldest geological horizon and ending with those from the most recent. The order adopted is really a compromise, the time sequence being followed in the main, but each animal group receives its fullest treatment under the time period in which such groups reached their chief dominance.

It thus comes about that the fossil remains of man are brought up for systematic treatment in the final chapters of this book—the chapters devoted to the forms of life in existence during Quarternary times. It is to these chapters that anthropologists will turn first, for Prof. Boule does not admit that we have discovered fossil remains of pliocene man. His opinions and conclusions relating to fossil man will carry great weight with every expert. He regards Pithecanthropus and Simanthropus as the earliest and most primitive forms of



mankind yet discovered. He regards them as very closely related forms and is inclined to refer both to the same genus. It is true that the skull of *Sinanthropus* has certain striking resemblances to that of *Pithecanthropus*, but most British Anatomists see under these resemblances differences which lead them to accept the generic status given to Peking Man by Davidson Black. Prof. Boule is not convinced that the hearths and stone implements found at Chou-kou-tien are assignable to *Sinanthropus*. The fossil remains of *Eoanthropus* are described as "très incomplets mais fort curieux." Clearly Prof. Boule remains sceptical of the lower jaw found at Piltdown; it is so simian, while the skull—or such parts of it as were found—is not only human, but near akin to the corresponding cranial parts of *Homo sapiens*. He accepts an early pleistocene date for the Piltdown remains and assigns the Heidelberg mandible, which he rightly regards as a fossil of the highest importance, to the same geological horizon. He groups the stone cultures of the oldest pleistocene (*pléistocène inférieur*) under the term "chelléen." In this oldest phase of the pleistocene occurred the second or "Rissienne" glaciation and the long interglacial which preceded the "Würmienne." This, the final glaciation, ushered in the middle pleistocene with Neanderthal man and the Mousterian culture. All stone cultures which preceded the Würmian glaciation are assigned to the preceding interglacial period. Prof. Boule refuses to accept goliths and 'sub-crags' as evidence of human handiwork. Thus it will be seen that Prof. Boule remains loyal to the conclusion he reached many years ago.

The Rhodesian skull is regarded as showing close affinities to the Neanderthal type, but it has also a certain degree of resemblance to the Australian type. Prof. Boule is of opinion that in point of time the Rhodesian skull is not old. Rhodesian man, like the Okapi, represents, so Prof. Boule thinks, a survival of an ancient type into relatively modern times.

A photograph of one of the late pleistocene skulls from the cave of Beni-Segoual, Algeria, is reproduced, and also one from the late pleistocene deposit at Asselar, Sahara. The Beni-Segoual people are referred to the Cro-Magnon race—which is thus regarded as circum-Mediterranean in its distribution, while the Asselar people are believed to possess affinities with the Grimaldi type and also with the early Bushman type of South Africa. We regard the continued recognition of the 'mother' and 'son' from the deepest stratum of the Grimaldi cave as representatives of a distinct racial type to be a mistake. Both they and the Chancelade skull (which is here treated as representative of another racial type) are in reality local variants of the Cro-Magnon type. *Australopithecus* is regarded by Prof. Boule as an anthropoid ape closely related to the chimpanzee and gorilla and its date is regarded as "probablement pléistocène."

The final pages are devoted to a summing up of the more general concepts which bear on the science

of Palaeontology. No one in Europe is so well qualified as Prof. Boule to give expression to these wider truths. He has the knowledge and he has the gift of clear expression. The one truth which he regards as unassailable is that of evolution; the living things of to-day are the changed descendants of their predecessors of yesterday; and those of to-morrow will be the modified descendants of forms now alive. The fossil records of the earth leave no doubt of the occurrence of structural change and the evolution of new species. While other branches of science have had to modify or reject their basal theories, Palaeontologists have found no reason to doubt the truth of the law of Evolution. While structural change has certainly occurred, the modes of change—the forces which work out the transformation of species—remain uncertain. Prof. Boule favours Lamarck; he is of opinion that the future will find truth in him rather than in Darwin. Especially is he convinced that functionally acquired characters can become an inheritance and yet, strange to say, he is convinced that parallel or convergent evolution has played a large part in producing anatomical or structural kinship. Thus Prof. Boule, while agreeing that the structural similarity between man and anthropoid ape is profound, yet is of opinion that much of this similarity is due to convergence rather than to close kinship. He is inclined to believe that we may have to go back as far as the Eocene to find the primate form that serves as common ancestor to man and anthropoid apes. In this, Henry Fairfield Osborn would agree with him. It is a remarkable fact that the two men who are most familiar with the evolution of mammalian phyla are the most willing to believe in the parallel evolution of man and ape.

We have touched on only a fraction of the wealth of fossil material unfolded in this work. It may seem ungracious, seeing that we have so much to be thankful for, to suggest that something is lacking. To have given a full bibliography would have doubled the size and cost of this work, yet references to a few of the more important of recent papers would have greatly increased the value of the work to research students.

ARTHUR KEITH.

**The Magdalenian Skeleton from Cap-Blanc in the Field Museum of Natural History.** By Gerhard von Bonin. University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. XXXII, No. 34, April 23, 1935. Illinois Medical and Dental Monographs, Vol. I, No. 1, 76 pp. Price \$1.00.

The skeleton from the cave of Cap-Blanc, in the Dordogne, is the only one of Palaeolithic date preserved in an American institution. It was discovered twenty-five years ago and its Magdalenian date is well authenticated. Dr. von Bonin's memoir is a valuable addition to his many contributions to the literature of physical anthropology. He evidently aimed at providing a detailed and accurate description of the remains free from those speculations in which many anthropologists delight. It is not claimed that this study should revolutionize our views on any matter. Its value, rather, is in providing some additional confirmation of the less



sensational, but more reliable, hypotheses which have been advanced regarding the physical characters and affinities of late Paleolithic man.

In view of its age, the skeleton is in a good state of preservation, the long bones and mandible being almost complete. The cranium is, unfortunately, its most imperfect part: much of it is missing and the remaining bones were broken into several fragments from which a restoration of the whole was made. The state of epiphyseal union and the dentition indicate a young adult individual, and all the evidence suggests femaleness. The stature must have been of the order 156 cm., which is small, but very close to the reconstructed values for the other female skeletons of Upper Paleolithic age. Several of the males whose long bones have been discovered must have been exceptionally tall, and there is a suggestion that the sex differentiation in stature then was greater than in later times. But we are warned that the material on which such an hypothesis may be based is still very meagre. Comparison is made between the measurements of the Cap-Blanc bones and those previously published for skeletons belonging to the same era, most attention being paid to the skull as the comparative material, for it is most abundant. We are told that "there is no morphological trait in the Cap-Blanc skeleton that could be adduced against the assumption of its Magdalenian age," and, it may be added, it possesses no characters which distinguishes it from skeletons of modern type. The brain-box is rather large for a female, though not by any means extreme, and there is no suggestion of a median sagittal ridge. The relatively high facial

skeleton (as reconstructed), and the fact that the rami of the mandible are relatively broad compared with their lengths, might suggest Eskimo affinities, as in the case of the Chancelade skull, but Dr. von Bonin does not make this point and it is obviously safest not to attach any importance to it. He comments on the more plausible hypothesis that some of the Neolithic races of Western Europe were directly descended from the Upper Paleolithic people who inhabited the same region, and he stresses the need for far more evidence relating to the latter.

G. M. MORANT.

**Das frühneolithische Skelett von Grosz-Tinz in Schlesien.** Von Prof. Dr. Otto Reche und Dr. Johannes Nestler. S. 59, mit 10 Textabbildungen und 5 Tafeln. Veröffentlichungen des staatlich-sächsischen Forschungs-Instituts für Völkerkunde in Leipzig. Dritte Reihe: Rassenkunde, Erster Band. Leipzig, R. Voigtländer Verlag, 1933. Geh. 5, geb. 7.50 Mk.

This detailed study deals with a nearly complete skeleton which is said to be the earliest that has yet been found in Silesia. Lengthy descriptions of the bones are supplemented by large numbers of measurements determined according to Martin's technique, drawings of sections and good photographs. The skull measurements are compared with those of the two Pritzerber specimens which are of Ancyclus Age. Current theories are reflected in the conclusion that we have without doubt in the Grosz-Tinz skeleton "einen aussergewöhnlich typischen Vertreter der klassischen 'Nordischen Rasse' vor uns, der in jedem Lehrbuch als 'Typus' abgebildet werden könnte."

G. M. MORANT.

## INDIA.

**Census of India, 1931, Vol. I. India. Part III: Ethnographical:**

**29 A. Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India**  
By B. S. Guha, Ph.D., *Anthropologist, Zoological Survey of India*. Lxi + 116 pp., pls. x (*Anthropological types*), maps, etc.

**B. Ethnographic Notes.** By various Authors, edited by J. H. Hutton. 243 pp., pls. 28 + text figures (Simla, 1935.) Price 13s. Rs. 7, 10, 0.

When Sir Herbert Risley took the Census of India in 1901 he not only numbered the heads of the population, but also sought to determine what kind of heads they were—an entirely new departure in the way of census taking. When Dr. J. H. Hutton was appointed Census Commissioner in October, 1929, he resolved to continue and to extend the anthropological investigations which had been initiated by his predecessor of thirty years before. He therefore appealed for aid to his colleague, Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, F.R.S., then Director of the Zoological Survey, with the result that Dr. B. S. Guha was entrusted with the task of preparing the Anthropological part of the Census Report. Dr. Guha's investigations began in 1930 and were continued until the summer of 1933, during which time he visited the most distant parts of India. Samples of the population were examined in the following regions: (1) North-Western Himalayan; (2) Indo-Gangetic plain; (3) Central India and Gujrat; (4) Peninsular India; (5) North-Eastern India; (6) Assam; (7) Burma. Besides these regional groups two others were added, one representing tribal peoples, and the other women of various regions, the data for the latter group being gathered by Madame Guha. Altogether 2,511 individuals were examined—all of which, with the exception of the female group of the Nicobarese, were measured by Dr. Guha himself. The individuals examined repre-

sented 34 racial groups, 14 of which were Brahmins, 16 various Hindu castes, and 4 tribesmen.

Eighteen measurements were made of the head and face of each individual; besides these, observations were made on colour of skin, hair and eyes according to standardized methods; other points, such as supra-orbital development, depth of nasal notch, epicanthic fold and texture of hair were also recorded. The numerous tables give the means and the amounts of variation stated in the manner with which the Biometrical School of London has made the world familiar. The Co-efficients of Racial Likeness for each group has been worked out according to the formula of Professor Pearson. In working out these degrees of likeness data gathered by many other observers have been used such as those of Dr. Mitra, Prof. Harrower, the late Mr. Thurston, the late Professor Dixon, Baron von Eickstedt, Sir T. Holland, Col. Waddell, Chanda, and particularly those of B. K. Chatterjee. Dr. Guha also utilized data which he had gathered during earlier anthropological forays into several regions of India.

Dr. Guha's report forms the first and the more important part of the present volume. Nevertheless, the second part, which is entitled *Ethnographic Notes by Various Hands*, edited by the Census Commissioner, Dr. J. H. Hutton, contains much material of great interest for cultural as well as for physical anthropologists. Dr. Hutton here gives the notes he made during official tours through many parts of India, relating mostly to tribal peoples—Bhils, Gonds, Chenchus, Andamanese, Nicobarese, etc. Over a score of communications give records made by local observers. Many of these deserve special mention, but reasons of space forbid me from doing more than calling attention to the second part of this volume as a source of information for those interested in the cultural evolution of the peoples of India.

Perhaps the most outstanding result of Dr. Guha's



survey has been the discovery that the peoples of India are brachycephalic to a much greater extent than has hitherto been suspected. He has prepared an excellent map of India which shows at a glance the distribution of head form; the areas of the long heads are coloured blue; those of the round heads, red. We may feel certain that if such a map had been prepared 8,000, or 10,000 years ago, when mankind was still in the primitive tribal stage of evolution, India would have been painted blue from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. All the evidence at our disposal is in favour of the belief that the forms of brachycephaly now seen so widely spread amongst modern population were evolved, not in India, but north of the Himalayas. Dr. Guha's map shows brachycephaly (red) sweeping southwards round both ends of the Himalayas. From the Pamirs it descends through Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and Sind, and then extends continuously along the west, broadening out from Bombay so as to include almost the whole Deccan. The red band sweeps across the peninsula so as to include southern Madras. Only a small area in the south is left as blue (dolichocephalic); it lies along the Malabar coast. From the eastern end of the Himalayas the brachycephalic (red) area passes from Bhutan and Tibet southwards, through Assam, to spread over Bengal and to end in Orissa. Thus all that is left of the dolichocephalic (blue) expanse is a central core, broad at the base, where it extends across the Indo-Gangetic plain from Sind to Bengal, sending a southward extension between Orissa and the Deccan to end north of Mysore. Only in Madras and in the isolated area in Travancore do the dolichocephals reach the sea. Such a map gives us a revolutionary conception of the anthropology of India.

How and when did brachycephaly enter and extend along the western parts of India? From the photographs of racial types which Dr. Guha has included in his report and which add so greatly to its value, one notices that the occiputs of the western round head is high and almost vertical; the form of brachycephaly is not of the rounded kind seen amongst Mongolian peoples, such as the Burmese and Tibetans. It is more akin to that seen in the peoples of the Pamirs and of Russian Turkestan. It has not the intensity to be observed so often in Armenians and Uzbeks. Along the south coast of Arabia, as Captain Bertram Thomas's data have proved, there exists a round-headed people, and the people at Oman, as Dr. Guha has noted, have the same form of occiput as is seen among the west coast peoples of India. The discovery of the ancient civilization of the Indus Valley must alter our conception of the settlement of India; sea communication between Arabia and the west coast of India must be much older than has been believed hitherto. It is most probable that western India has been invaded from countries lying to the west and north of the Indus by sea as well as by land. So far as the present evidence goes the inhabitants of Mohenjodaro were predominantly dolichocephalic, and big-headed.

Sir Herbert Risley was somewhat unfortunate in the names he gave to the racial types of India, particularly in describing the Bengali under the racial designation of Indo-Mongolian. I do not suppose that Sir Herbert meant to imply that the inhabitants of Bengal were derivatives of a mixed Mongol and Indian ancestry. Nevertheless the degree of brachycephaly amongst the Bengali has to be accounted for. Dr. Guha finds that certain Gujrati groups of the west have a "co-efficient" of racial likeness "with certain castes in Bengal which is sufficiently low to permit the inference that their kinship is not distant and that Bengal has obtained its brachycephaly from the west. Against this must be

set certain difficulties: (1) There is a wide belt of long-headedness (blue) between red Bengal and the red zone of the west; (2) the brachycephaly of Bengal is an unbroken extension of the great eastern Mongolian zone, and is thus bound directly with Mongolian countries to the north; (3) the brachycephaly of Bengal I believe to be—but on this more exact observations are much needed—of the rounded Mongolian, not of the Armenoid flat vertical type; (4) there is evidence that the original population of Bengal was akin to the Khasi of Assam. It seems to me that the true explanation of the round-headedness of the Bengali has still to be sought for.

Dr. Guha has applied biometric methods to the elucidation of the evolutionary relationship which exists between the peoples of India with great loyalty of spirit. He is not blind, as is manifest from several passages in his report, to the uncertainty of 'the co-efficient of racial likeness' as a guide to the degree of kinship of one people with another. He holds that its results have to be accepted with caution. We can never hope to obtain a mathematical method that will equal the practised eye in determining the relative degrees of racial likeness. We could have wished for more photographs of racial types. Perhaps it would have been too extravagant to have printed full tables of individual measurements, but frequency curves showing the serial distribution of all the chief characters—particularly of the head indices—would have added greatly to the value of this report without an undue increase of cost. One cannot tell, from the data given, the percentage of brachycephalic individuals in any of the racial samples reported on.

As has been mentioned, Dr. Guha's racial samples come from all parts of India—from the N.W. Frontier to Ceylon, and from Sind to Burma. And yet between the most extreme types all intermediate stages occur. Pigmentation increases as one passes from the N.W. to the S.E. Taking the co-efficients of racial likeness at their face value, it would be possible to bridge the 60 or 80 units which separate any two extreme racial types with racial samples which lead by gradual steps from the one extreme to the other. The bridge which links the Pathans of the N.W. to the Hill Tribes of Travancore is still in existence. If evolution be true and if the 352 millions of people now in India are members of the same great branch of humanity this ought to be the case. Yet, strange to say, all, or nearly all, who have sought to explain the differentiation of the population of India into racial types have sought the solution of this problem outside the Peninsula. They have never attempted to ascertain how far India has bred her own races. They have proceeded on the assumption that evolution has taken place long ago and far away, but not in the great anthropological paradise of India. In this respect, Dr. Guha is neither better nor worse than his predecessors. No doubt India has been invaded over and over again; certain racial types are of extraneous origin. But one would venture the opinion that 85 per cent. of the blood in India is native to the soil. At least it is urgently necessary that our eyes should be more directly focused on the possibility of India being an evolutionary field—both now and in former times. Why has it been that, with the exception of the colonization of Assam, there is no clear evidence that any part of India has ever been a cradle of emigrant nations? Her part in the past has been to receive and not to give.

When we turn to the pages in which Dr. Guha sums up the results of his investigations we find, I think, evidence of both sources of racial origin—foreign and native. In the racial composition of the peoples of India he discerns:—

(1) A type represented by the Telegu Brahmin—



short of stature, long but small of head (small when compared with European standards), nose prominent and long, black-haired and dark, tawny brown in colour of skin. This Dr. Guha regards as the essential and prevalent Indian type, and I agree with him. Baron von Eickstedt has named it the *Melanide* racial type and regards it as a product of the open spaces of the Deccan.

(2) A type represented by the Nagar Brahmins; it differs from the last chiefly in the form of head; the occiput tends to be flat, not full, as in the last. Dr. Guha regards type 1 as the basal form and type 2 as a superimposition (an intrusion) upon type 1.

(3) A type represented by the Pathan, taller and less pigmented than types 1 and 2; long-headed, long-faced, usually cast in a larger mould than types 1 and 2; nose long and prominent. This may be described as an Aryan type. Every stage between types 1 and 3 is to be found between Sind and Assam.

(4) A type which differs from type 1 in having a small flat nose, short, wide face, hair black, wavy or curly. It predominates among the tribes of central and southern India. It is akin to the Veddahs and to the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula. Baron von Eickstedt has named it the *Vedide* type or race, and regards it as a product of the hills. For my part I incline to regard Dr. Guha's type 1 as the evolved form of type 4; every stage in the passage from the lower to the higher is to be observed.

(5) A type which differs from the last only in its small make of body and in its tendency to have the hair spirally curled. The type is best seen amongst the Kadars and Pulayans of the south. This is but a variant of type 4; every stage between the two occurs.

(6) A brachycephalic mongoloid type represented by the Bhutaneses; it occurs along the foothills of the Himalayas from Kashmir to Assam.

(7) Another mongoloid type which differs from the last in the head being long rather than round, and with more pronounced nasal development than in type 6. Dr. Guha has cited the Angami Nagas as representative of this type. Shape of head is not necessarily a fundamental racial character. I believe types 6 and 7 represent the same stock, one which seems to have been evolved in, and formed the native population of N.E. India when tribalism prevailed throughout the Peninsula and when agriculture was still unknown in the land. Probably the chief factor in producing the racial turmoil in India has been the introduction of the art of agriculture.

In adding this volume to the census report Dr. Hutton has rendered anthropology a great service. Dr. Guha has seized his opportunities with both hands. India is better off than England; India looks at her heads as well as counts them. It may be, in the racial vicissitudes which the distant future will bring forth, that London will stand to Delhi as Delhi now stands to London. In such an event it may be that a Census Commissioner will be appointed for these Islands. In such a case I hope he will remember that it was Sir Herbert Risley who instituted an anthropological survey for India, and so be moved to do the same for the Western Islands of Europe.

ARTHUR KEITH.

**Gurkhas. Handbook for the Indian Army.** By Captain C. J. Morris. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933; 179 pp., with chart showing terms used in Gurkha relationships, and a skeleton map of Nepal. Price 8s. 9d.

This publication is officially a new edition of Colonel Eden Vansittart's handbook, *Notes on Goorkhas*, of which the first edition appeared in 1890, the second in 1906, the third, revised by Colonel B. U. Nicolay, in 1915, and a reprint of the third edition in 1918. Capt. (now Major) Morris is right in stating that the "present edition has

"been entirely re-written and contains practically none" of the original book.

Being one of the handbooks for the Indian Army, the work is intended as a guide to the officers of the Gurkha regiments, especially to recruiting officers. This object necessitated a careful examination of the complicated social organization, of the various tribes of Nepal and of their manners and customs. The ethnological section deals with the general geography and administration of the country and the history of Nepal. In chapters 5-12 the author outlines the history, religion and other characteristic features of the tribes who are enlisted in the British Army: the Thakurs, Chetris, Gurungs, Magars, Limbus, Rais, Sunwars, Tamangs, Lamas or Mirmis, followed by a list of their clans (*thars*) and kindreds (*gotras*). An idea of this complicated organization may be gathered from reference to one tribe, the Rais, who have no less than 73 clans, the number of kindreds of each clan varying from one to 133. The Magar clan *Thāpā* includes no less than 335 kindreds. The various names of clans and kindreds had to be ascertained by personal inquiries from individuals, and it is sometimes difficult to find out whether a name belongs to a clan, or only to a kindred. In other cases units, which were formerly considered to be clans, were proved to be separate tribes or independent groups. In the list of clans it is noted that many of the kindreds are apparently variations of one word. Morris has included in his lists all the various forms that he has come across, except those which are obviously due to defective speech. The author suggests that, possibly, some of the kindreds may have come into being since the book was first written, but it is also possible that these kindreds had merely not been noted in the earlier editions.

Chapter 13 is devoted to those tribes which are not enlisted: the Newars (the aborigines of the valley of Nepal and the creators of the Nepalese art), Dotials, Tharus and Sherpas, i.e., the Bhotiyas of North-eastern Nepal and of Solu Khumbu, near the Tibeto-Nepalese frontier.

The valuable appendices include a table of Gurkha relationships, with explanatory notes, a fairly complete bibliography of Nepal, and a coloured skeleton map showing the distribution of tribes.

Although Captain Morris, in his preface, says that he has attempted no more than an outline sketch of the customs of the people, his book, and in particular Chapter 4, is the only detailed and reliable source for the study of the ethnology of Nepal. A large number of the older publications, including Sylvain Lévi's standard work, however important they may be with regard to archaeology, geography, etc., have added very little to the ethnology. The book ranks with B. H. Hodgson's 'Essays' and 'Miscellaneous Essays.' The following publications are missing from the bibliography: M. Waddell's *Prog-Worship amongst the Newars* (Indian Antiquary, XXII, 1893; August Conrady's publications: *Das Newāri, Grammatik und Sprachproben, Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xlv, 1891, pp. 1-35; and *Ein Sanskrit-Newāri-Wörterbuch*, *ibid.*, xvii, 1893, pp. 539-573, and Heinrich Lüders (Professor of Sanskrit in Berlin University) *Die Gurkhas* (in *Unter fremden Völkern*, edited by Professor Wilhelm Doegen, Berlin, 1925, pp. 126-139.)

Major Morris is at present engaged on another book on the tribal organizations of Nepal and is returning to that country in the near future. Let us hope that his further studies will elucidate the problem of the origin of these tribal organizations which, most probably, were evolved with the development of the dialects, the main basis of which is Tibeto-Burmese. An index, without the *thar* and *gotra* names, would have added considerably to the value of this excellent book. LEONHARD ADAM.



**The Hill Bhūiyas of Orissa.** By *Sarat Chandra Roy*. "Man in India" Office, Ranchi, India, 1935. 320 pp., 20 plates, and two Appendices. Price Rs. 8.

This is the fifth of a series of monographs on Central Indian tribes by the editor of the well-known anthropological journal 'Man in India,' who, for nearly a quarter of a century, has been devoting his energy and resources to the advancement of anthropological studies. When the history of anthropology in India comes to be written, Roy will, undoubtedly, be remembered as a pioneer.

The Bhūiyas, whose total population number about 1,500,000, are distributed over the central hill belt of India and have as their neighbours, chiefly, the Hos and the Oraons. Their "native forests have been spared" such exploitation as has caused great economic "distress elsewhere"; the missionaries have spared them their evangelizing activities. The Hill Bhūiyas have a simple material substratum for their equally undeveloped culture; only a very small section of the Plains Bhūiyas have taken to wet cultivation of rice. Those groups who have improved their economic position by adopting improved methods of agriculture are also slowly absorbing the externals of Hinduism and are showing a tendency to establish themselves as a separate Hindu caste. Political adventurers from the plains have long established themselves as chieftains in the Bhūiyas area. The ceremonial validation of their authority over the Bhūiyas by periodical enactment of secondary installation rites by the representatives of the tribes is full of interesting details of great value to the historian of culture in this area. The headman appointed by the chieftains, the "social headman" of the village, and the priest (*dihuri*) constitute the personnel of the politico-social organization. The villages are self-contained units, but sometimes groups of villages are loosely federated into *bars*. The life and activities of these simple folk are described in twelve chapters with unusual narrative skill. The author's son, Mr. R. C. Roy, contributes a section on the somatology of the tribe and an appendix on the statistical analysis of measurements of a hundred adult tribesmen.

A methodological point has to be raised here in connection with the general presentation of the ethnographer's material. Mr. Roy remains almost invariably at the objective level with regard to his facts, and only rarely attempts to inter-relate the diverse aspects of the culture he is dealing with. A little more attention to method would have added to the theoretical value of the monograph. As Goldenweiser has put it, "any characterization of a culture based on pure enumeration of objective features must be artificial and incomplete."

Govt. Museum, Madras.

A. AIYAPPAN.

#### **An Account of the District of Shahabad in 1809-10.**

By *Francis Buchanan*. Patna: published on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, 1934. viii + 444 pp. Price Rs. 9.

Over 130 years have elapsed since Buchanan completed his Report on Shahabad District the full text of which now appears for the first time in print. The Purnea Report, the first of the series of four relating to Bihar, was reviewed in *MAN*, 1931, 225. Those for Bhagalpur and Patna-Gaya are still to come.

Buchanan was a first-rate scientist, observant, precise and impartial; no truer pictures of rural India exist than those drawn by his pen. It is well that in this epoch of change, his record should be accessible, and the cuts made by Martin in his abridgement (*Eastern India*, 1838-9) restored.

It is a pity that this Shahabad volume has no index or map, no introduction or notes; for Buchanan's spelling is not easy to correlate with modern books and maps. All except one of Buchanan's statistical tables are omitted, and none of his drawings are reproduced. These defects can be partly met by reference to Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham's edition of Buchanan's *Shahabad Journal* (1926) which, by the way, gives a more vivid impression than the *Report*.

The title page blunders; this Report should be dated 1812-13, not 1809-10.

F. J. R.

#### **SOCIOLOGY.**

**Patterns of Culture.** By *Ruth Benedict*. London: Routledge, 1935. xiv+292 pp. Price 10s. 6d. net.

This is one of the best anthropological books that have appeared for some time. Dr. Benedict is already well known for her studies of American Indian religion and mythology; here she turns her attention to more general theoretical problems. By an examination of three primitive societies, Zuni, Dobu and Kwakiutl, the institutions of which are in many cases strongly contrasted, she comes to some interesting conclusions regarding the nature of human culture and the character of the response of individuals to it. In brief, her principal thesis is that cultures show an infinite diversity, that the behaviour of members of any society is determined by the culture in which they are embedded rather than by the innate characteristics of any basic 'human nature.' The great arc of potential human behaviour is too immense for any one culture to utilize any considerable portion of it; in the development of the culture there has been of necessity selection, and certain patterns have emerged. The response of a person to a situation

is dictated in the main by these traditional patterns. Even the features of individual behaviour commonly described as abnormal vary from society to society; they stand out against a specific pattern of social institutions in each case, and a person who is outside the pale of ordinary conduct in one community would in another be in conformity with his social environment, perhaps exceptionally well endowed to take advantage of the opportunities it offers for self-advancement. A turbulent, scornful, aloof man, with a personal magnetism that singled him out to exercise authority, was a misfit in Zuni, that society of the middle way; in a Plains Indian tribe these traits of character were such as to have secured for him honour and an assured career. Every anthropologist should support the author in her claim that "social thinking at the present time" has no more important task before it than that of "taking account of cultural relativity." It is a text from which Westermarck and others have consistently preached, but which can bear much further and more forcible exposition.

The science of culture is at a critical stage of development just now. In field studies the necessity



of what may be called a functional type of analysis is taken for granted, whether the investigator has enrolled himself under the banner of any particular 'school' or not, and the more curious-minded are seeking for ways of turning these results to greater advantage, of expanding the methodological equipment of the science. Here Dr. Benedict makes a positive contribution. In common with a number of the younger anthropologists, in the forefront of whom Dr. Margaret Mead and Dr. Reo Fortune may be mentioned, she attempts to base generalizations on what may be called an improved version of the explicit comparative method—explicit since the use of this technique in general is necessary to all branches of science. By comparison of an institution in a number of communities, and consideration of its social background in each, the observer is enabled to correlate variations in this institution with variations in others, to give precision and a greater validity to generalizations formed initially on the basis of a study of a single community. This pre-supposes an equally intensive investigation in each of the fields considered, a willingness to consider the subtleties of interrelation of human behaviour in each case.

In this respect the results offered to date cannot be accepted without reserve. Dr. Benedict does not throw open to us so widely the inmost recesses of the heart of the native and tell us what he is thinking and feeling in all kinds of intimate and complex situations as some recent studies boldly do, but she is apt to turn what can be after all only very partial observations of the behaviour of individuals into terms of broad generalization on basic attitudes. "Sex is an incident in the 'happy life,' we are told of the Pueblo. In this culture there is no delight in any situation in which the individual stands alone, no indulgence in the exercise of authority. When a child becomes an adult 'he has not the motivations' that lead him to imagine situations in which 'authority will be relevant.' Application of the discipline of scientific method to these and other statements scattered throughout the book reveals a somewhat small observational basis for them and the introduction of a great many assumptions about behaviour for which no justification is offered. They stand, in fact, as stimulating hypotheses rather than as proven norms of conduct.

Then there is the tabloid description of cultures. The Zuni are characterized as Apollonian in attitude—measure in all things is their ideal. In this they are contrasted most strongly with the Kwakiutl, essentially Dionysian, living with zest, striving for ecstasy in their religious ceremonies, and relying upon violence and excess as the means to pre-eminence in their economic and social life. No doubt the most casual acquaintance would reveal a difference in character between Zuni and Kwakiutl, but the expression of this difference in scientific terms would seem to demand a more subtle analysis and more varied instruments of measurement than are offered here. As Dr. Benedict herself seems to recognize in the latter part of the book (pp. 228-229)

this perception of a single dominant set of drives in a culture has its dangers. All the behaviour of the members of the society is apt to be interpreted on this criterion, to be unconsciously warped into conformity with what seems to the observer to be the mainspring of the culture. "There is always 'the possibility that the description of the culture' is disoriented rather than the culture itself" (p. 228) is a timely observation, though made in another context. It may be suggested that the danger of such disorientation is not lessened when in the argument a culture is personified and spoken of as "choosing its ends," "selecting its motives," or a society as seizing upon occasions such as mourning or puberty "to express its important 'cultural intentions.'" Even though it is explicitly stated that such phrases are merely verbal devices for ease of expression, it appears as if the linguistic form has sometimes taken the bit in its teeth; when change of institutions is being discussed, for instance, the conception of how this process takes place is left obscure. In short, generalizations in anthropology need to be firmly based upon empirical evidence, carefully controlled, and the assumptions inherent in such formulations as those mentioned above need to be more clearly stated.

The book as a whole is an important contribution, particularly in summing up a number of tendencies in modern anthropological theory. It should be on the shelves of everyone interested in the workings of human society.

RAYMOND FIRTH.

**Werden, Wandel, und Gestaltung des Rechtes im Lichte der Völkerforschung.** By **34** Prof. Richard Thurnwald (= *Die menschliche Gesellschaft in ihren ethno-soziologischen Grundlagen*, vol. 5). Berlin and Leipzig (de Gruyter), 1934. 232 pp., 2 plates.

There exist but few handbooks dealing with primitive law as a whole. Thus the present book, representing the fifth volume of Prof. Thurnwald's work on human society and its ethno-sociological basis, is the first German publication since the days of Albert H. Post; for, with the exception of two popular surveys, J. Kohler's works on primitive law were chiefly monographs. The modern literature on primitive law is based on anthropological field work, and thus on a more certain understanding of primitive mentality and of the underlying principles of primitive social life. Such writing is chiefly associated with the names of E. S. Hartland and B. Malinowski. Now the present book by Prof. Thurnwald offers two principal advantages. Firstly, he has combined the systematical order of continental ethnological jurisprudence with the psychological method whereby law is considered in its intimate relation to the economic, social, and spiritual conditions; and in particular to magic and religion. Secondly, owing to the author's personal experience as a successful field-worker in Melanesia, East Africa, and many other countries, his theories are rooted in a very broad and many-sided field observation. Furthermore, having had a very good training in jurisprudence and legal



history before he became an anthropologist, Prof. Thurnwald is in the position of comparing primitive institutions with those of more or less advanced peoples of various epochs. As a result the book has become something like a universal survey and a psychological analysis of the evolution of law.

In view of this comprehensive treatment it is perhaps remarkable that the author disclaims any responsibility of the modification of legal theories as such (p. 1, footnote 2). Nevertheless, he starts from the principle that "law is a function of the conditions of life and of the mentality of society," "a norm regulating the behaviour of individuals within a community" (p. 1). A comparison with A. H. Post's introductory sentence to his *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, vol. I (1894), p. 1, may be interesting here. Post defined law as "a function of the social units, and one of the manifestations of national mentality ('Volksgeist')." It seems, then, that, in spite of his insufficient empiric background, this pioneer of ethnological jurisprudence was, in fact, not so very far removed from the modern theories on primitive law as is now generally believed. There exists rather a contradiction between Thurnwald's aims and general observations and, on the other side, the systematical order of his book. The terminology and classification is, as a rule, juristic. Furthermore, we find problems of legal history are frequently considered. For instance, the evolution of responsibility (p. 25 *et seq.*) or the question how the idea of justice might have come into existence (p. 185 *et seq.*) belong more to historical jurisprudence than to sociology.

The contents show the following division:—

- (1) Elements of Primitive Law (underlying principles and religious background).
- (2) Public Law (beginnings of International Law and, on the other hand, blood revenge).
- (3) Proprietary Rights.
- (4) Obligations (in particular the Principle of Retaliation and the Law of Contracts).
- (5) Inheritance Law.
- (6) Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure.
- (7) Legal Proceedings in general; Evidence (including ordeals and oath); Organization of Courts.
- (8) The Importance of Sovereignty for Law and Justice.

These titles of sections show clearly that the juristic terminology cannot simply be applied to primitive law, since there is no sharp distinction between public and private law in primitive society. Of course, criminal law, and any sort of procedure, are public law in highly developed legal systems. This, however, does not hold good in primitive communities (compare p. 117 *et seq.*). On the other hand, primitive proprietary rights cannot, as a rule, be reckoned among private rights. And yet, if we study the book, we will find juristic terminology is much less incompatible with primitive mentality and actual institutions than the sociologists like to emphasize.

The book is chiefly a composition of extremely living pictures of primitive social life and of the rules

governing the public order, repeatedly illustrated by references to ancient oriental and early European laws. Although the arrangement is systematic and not historical, we find the various principles of legal order are shown as being inseparably linked with certain stages of cultural development. To give only one example here, the author admits the ethical colouring of primitive legal order (p. 119), but derives the gradual evolution of the idea of justice from the jurisdiction of chiefs and kings who eventually laid down their decisive principles as germs of legal rules (compare Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, I, p. 10). Thus he puts it very definitely that the idea of justice is closely associated with the growing up of despotism which, on its part, was amalgamated with the belief in a god as a supreme judge who would act like the earthly ruler (p. 117 and p. 185).

It is evident that in this way Thurnwald offers, to some extent, a history of legal evolution. This is not 'evolutionism' in the obsolete sense of the term, which was characterized by theoretical schemes and thus often incompatible with the empiric facts as were ascertained by modern anthropology. But if one may be permitted to say one word as regards anthropological theories and methods, it is that we can certainly not renounce this sort of modern evolutionism in favour of another method of constructivism the 'historical' character of which is disputed. I think the best criticism of the present book would be to say that it is the fulfilment of a programme which was once proclaimed by Kohler, but could not be realized with insufficient anthropological material. Moreover, another thing is remarkable and must be highly appreciated, and this is that Thurnwald's work is obviously in harmony with Malinowski's functional theory of effective custom. It seems to me that this common theoretical and methodological basis for the study of primitive law will add more to the progress of our science than any repetitive inaugurating of new theories.

Finally, the author must be congratulated on the general excellence of his work, which is confidently recommended both to anthropologists and jurists.

LEONARD ADAM.

#### Head, Heart, and Hands in Human Evolution.

By R. R. Marett. London (Hutchinson) 1935. 303 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

**35** The publishers are to be congratulated in so promising a beginning for the series of scientific treatises which they intend to publish from time to time. Dr. Marett has not written a wholly new book, but collected and arranged, with some modifications and additions, a number of short works which have hitherto been given to the public only in the form of lectures, articles in specialist publications, and other forms not very readily accessible. Parts III and IV are largely from *Manners and Customs of Mankind* and *Harnsworth's Universal History*, compilations which from the very popularity of their appeal are somewhat apt to be overlooked by a serious student.

The four sections of the present work bear the



titles, respectively, of *The Sociological Outlook, Pre-Theological Religion in General, Pre-Theological Religion: Particular Illustrations and Primitive Technology*. They contain altogether seventeen essays, together with an introduction, *The Variety of Human Experience*, which wins the reader's good will at the very beginning, in the most approved fashion of good rhetoric, by explaining that "Anthropology is the higher gossipry" (p. 11); this being but the first of a long series of epigrammatic remarks, each provocative of thought on some larger or smaller point, such as "No marriage between Church and State is likely to have happy results so long as the better half remains a mixture of snob and shrew" (p. 39), or the description of a primitive religious ceremony as "a full service of 'Gestures Ancient and Modern'" (p. 92). Graver, but equally unpedantic, are the many passages which remind us that the author is, as all good scientists should be, also a philosopher; witness the discussion on fact and value (p. 43 *seq.*), the insistence on tabu as representing, not fear, but caution, "which is quite another thing" (p. 94), or the insistence on the blending of mystic and practical in the savage attitude towards what we regard as useful implements (p. 293). A longer example of this same good quality is furnished by the third essay, *Race and Society*, an admirable explanation in a few pages of those often misused conceptions. The width of the author's interests is well shown by the two technological articles which form Part IV, excellent illustrations of how to be popular without being shallow and the more noteworthy as coming from one who is primarily a sociologist.

Besides a few slight inconsistencies, the almost unavoidable result of gathering into one corpus materials originally separate, there are some half-dozen points which need modification. Thus, on p. 171, it is misleading to say that Homeric, or any, Greek women uttered funeral lamentations over the slaying of an ox in sacrifice; what they did was to raise the ritual cry, or *ololyge*, which connotes simply excitement or tension, oftener joyous than otherwise, and certainly in no way funeral. On p. 257 (end) it is a little inaccurate to speak of the Great Mother of Anatolia; the plural would be more in keeping with the known facts. Other objections which might be raised to individual passages are equally small; the reviewer nowhere finds himself in serious disagreement on any major point.

The printers' work has been well done, the crop of misprints being scanty: p. 96, the first sentence should have a question mark instead of a period; p. 170, line 7, "otters" has become "others"; p. 237, last paragraph, the last two letters of "Acheulean" have been accidentally transposed.

H. J. ROSE.

**36** *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology.* By Robert H. Lowie. New York, 1934. xii + 365 pp. Professor Lowie is so well known for his sane and balanced outlook that a new book by him needs little recommendation. In this work he ranges widely and writes about primitive hunting, pastoralism,

and agriculture; about cooking, dress and houses; about handicrafts, trade, art, and war; about social organization, government and law, magic, religion and science.

Naturally, in attempting so much, the author has had to restrict the space allotted to each topic. Nevertheless, it is surprising how little has been omitted, and it might interest specialists to realize into how few pages the essentials of their subject can be compressed. The book can be safely recommended to the general reader. Experienced anthropologists may also find very useful the sound and concise accounts of branches of anthropology that they have had little time or opportunity to study for themselves.

R. U. SAYCE.

**An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam.** By

**37** Reuben Levy, M.A. Vol. II. London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 1933. 8½ x 5½, v + 426 pp.

As the first volume was noticed at some length in MAN 1933, 139, it may be permissible to deal more briefly with the second volume of this good and useful work. Of the six chapters which it contains, the first is on the religious conceptions of Islam, the second on moral sentiments in the same, the third on usage, custom and secular law under Islam, the fourth on the government of the provinces of the Caliphate and succession states, the fifth on the military organization in Islam, and the sixth on science under its dispensation. There are, as before, the relevant bibliographies, and the volume ends with an index. As will be inferred from the subjects above-mentioned, this volume gives a great deal of legal administrative, theological, ethical, and other information, which is presented clearly and objectively. It would no doubt have been possible for the author to expand some portions of Chapter III in order to include many more non-Islamic usages and customs which have maintained themselves within the fold of Islam; but to give a full account of all of them would have involved considerable space and rather upset the balance of the work, as indicated by its title. The last chapter will be of special interest to those who care to trace the development of the natural sciences and to compare their position in medieval Europe with their treatment under Islam. The latter undoubtedly exercised for a time considerable influence on the former.

Altogether the work can be highly recommended to anyone who is interested in any of the matters with which it deals.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

**38** *Methodische Strömungen in der ehrerechtsgeschichtlichen Forschung (bis zur Epoche der germanischen Christianisierung). Ein literargeschichtlicher Beitrag.* By Von Dr. Hellmut Papp. Würzburg (Konrad Triltsch), 1934. 91 pp.

The author, a jurist, has specialized in the medieval legal history of marriage. He came to the conclusion that the evolution of the laws of marriage cannot be traced by way of purely juristic studies, but require for their full understanding likewise analysis in the light of sociological and ethnological methods of research. As a partial result of these studies the present book is intended to be a guide to the more important literature with three chief divisions, viz.: (1) ecclesiastical; (2) secular-juristic; (3) sociological. The chapter on the sociological and ethnological methods (p. 41 *et seq.*) with criticism of modern continental theories may be interesting to anthropologists. It is true that, unfortunately, the author neglected the modern Anglo-American literature on the subject, but his book will be useful to sociologists for its detailed survey of the theories of continental schools.

LEONHARD ADAM.



**Die Behandlung der Alten und Kranken bei den Naturvölkern.** Von John Koty. (*Forschungen zur Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie.*) Stuttgart: C. Hirschfeld, 1934. 6½ x 9½. xxxix + 374 pp. Price RM. 13.50.

This subject, as Dr. Koty points out, has never before been treated in a comprehensive and systematic fashion. The formerly current assumption that the killing of the sick and aged—or at any rate neglect, if not active ill-treatment—was the universal rule in early societies had long been invalidated by the discovery of many instances to the contrary. An immense mass of evidence has accumulated, but hitherto little or no attempt has been made to sift and classify it. Dr. Koty begins with a minute survey of the available facts, under the several headings (after dealing in a preliminary chapter with the behaviour of animals in this respect, so far as it has been observed) of Tasmania, Australia, Oceania, Asia, (five main sections, of which the last is subdivided into four), 'Europäische Randgebiete,' Africa and America. The 'marginal regions of Europe' contains (a) the Caucasian peoples (Old Caucasian, Indogermanic and Turkish), and (b) 'Türkervölker Russlands, who include: Bashkirs, Kazan and Orenburg Tartars and six tribes or nations classified as Finns.' It will thus be seen that the author has cast his net far enough, and the formidable list of names in his bibliography shows that he has left no accessible source unexplored. His attitude towards this mass of facts is by no means uncritical. He has gathered together as many different testimonies as he could find, in order to check one writer's statements by those of another and to eliminate the inevitable personal bias. Yet 'Auch dieses Verfahren schliesst manche Zweifel nicht aus, da es vorkommt dass sich zwei ganz kontradiktorische Auffassungen gegenüberstehen. Aus selbstverständlichen Gründen ist die persönliche Nachprüfung der Tatsachen an Ort und Stelle nicht möglich. Man muss sich in manchen Fällen mit der Feststellung der unvereinbaren Berichte begnügen; man lässt zwar die Frage offen, vermeidet aber dabei—was schlimmer wäre—einseitige und falsche Folgerungen.'

The second part of the book is devoted to criticism of existing theories: the evolutionary, by which is meant the view of a uniform and inevitable progress, in a straight line, from the promiscuity and cannibalism of the 'Urhorde' to the highest level of culture; that of nomadism, principally advocated by Ihering, who insisted that the destruction of the helpless was an inevitable consequence of the wandering life; religious-magical ideas (Lévy-Bruhl's view) and Freud's hypothesis based on the 'Oedipus complex,' which, to put it baldly, assumes parricide as the starting-point of culture. This, Dr. Koty thinks, would scarcely have needed refutation, were it not that it 'eine willkommene Aufnahme in den Arbeiten gleichfalls hervorragender Gelehrter gefunden hätte.'

Part III is devoted to an examination of the various causes which lead, in different countries and among diverse races, to the killing or the abandonment of the aged and the sick, or, in other cases to the opposite course of conduct. It is conclusively shown that the assumption of a primitive instinct of hostility to the weak and helpless, inherent in the oldest societies, is untenable. Such an attitude is produced by circumstances under more developed conditions. Next, an important distinction, too frequently overlooked, is duly emphasized: the numerous cases where kindness and compassion are the real motives for what cannot in fairness be called murder (pp. 314-324)—especially when it is remembered that the lawfulness of euthanasia is by some authorities still considered an open question.

An admirably balanced summing-up in the final chapter leads to the conclusion that to early humanity the elimination (*Beseitigung*) of the sick and aged was unknown, there being no motives for such action since the development of natural feelings was not checked, in the small primitive groups, by any internal or external factors. The custom would seem to have originated with the abandonment of the helpless in extremely critical times, but the increasing complexity of the social order brought with it conflicting interests and passions which led to the removal of elements felt to be burdensome. While magico-religious notions and social considerations gradually came to lend their authority to the practice, we find that 'die Vernichtung der Alten und Kranken als einer fest verwurzelten Sitte begegnen wir erst in späteren Entwicklungsstadien.' A. W.

**Beschneidung und Reifezeremonien bei Naturvölkern.** Studien zur Kulturkunde, Ad. E. Jensen (Herausgeber: Leo Frobenius), vol. I. Stuttgart, Strecker & Schroeder, 1933. With 11 maps. 188 pp.

This book contains a fairly complete record of what is known about circumcision and initiation rites, with a series of distribution maps. In Indonesia circumcision was introduced by the Mohammedans, but there also exist pre-Islamic deformations, viz., incision and squeezing off the foreskin by bamboo-splinters. In the Gorontalo district (Northern Celebes) the common people only are incised, and circumcision is restricted to nobles (p. 7). In ancient Egypt, in the later periods, only warriors and members of the sacerdotal class were circumcised (p. 15). It may be that the restriction of circumcision or incision to an upper social class indicates the foreign origin of the custom. From the fact that some people used stone-knives for circumcision a very early origin of this custom can be inferred.

The author's industry must be acknowledged. The most valuable part of the book is obviously the material collected by himself among the Mambunda tribe (pp. 20-27). His exact and full record of the rites is admirable, but his final arguments are not convincing. Being a follower of Graebner and his school (p. 3), Dr. Jensen tends to generalize. His analysis leads him to conclude that circumcision was originally always an initiation ceremony, and that when performed before puberty it anticipates such a ceremony. Yet he admits that in ancient Egypt circumcision was not an initiation rite (p. 15). Among the Jews he suggests that the original purpose of circumcision has disappeared. There is, however, no need to assume one underlying principle for all deformations of the genital organs.

On p. 115 *sq.* the winter ceremonies of the Indians of the North-west coast of America are analysed. It is incorrect to consider these ceremonies as a whole as initiation rites. They are, in fact, composed of various elements including magic, and dramatization of legends and stories.

The book is an exhaustive and important monograph though one cannot approve all its conclusions. The complete bibliography adds considerably to its value. LEONHARD ADAM.

**Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Vol. I: General Ethnography.** By A. C. Haddon. Cambridge University Press, 1935. 4to., xiv + 421 pp., 11 Plates, 50 Text figures, Maps, etc. Price 40s. net.

If any date were to be singled out as marking the beginning of scientific anthropology in England, that date would be 1898, the year in which the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition visited the Torres Straits.



To-day we have in our hands the last to be published, though by title the first volume of the magnificent series of Reports of this expedition. This volume is a remarkable achievement, and we have to congratulate Dr. Haddon upon this climax to his anthropological work.

The history of the expedition is well known. Dr. Haddon first visited the Torres Straits in 1888 to study marine zoology. With his habitual interest in everything under the sun he collected not only zoological specimens, but also a quantity of anthropological material. In the working out of his notes, he came into contact with other anthropologists and folklorists; and Sir William Flower—to whom our gratitude is due—persuaded him to become, unwillingly, an anthropologist. The results were the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits and the series of monographs which we all know; leading finally to the foundation of a School of Anthropology in Cambridge.

The members of the expedition were: Wm. McDougall, C. S. Myers, W. H. R. Rivers, S. H. Ray, and Anthony Wilkin. They established the critical study of native peoples.

The greater part of the material which they collected has already been published in the other five volumes, but the present volume is one for which anthropologists, especially those interested in the Torres Straits, North Australia, and the Papuan peoples of New Guinea, will thank Dr. Haddon. The volume opens with a summary of the history of European contact with the native peoples. The little that is known of the geography and geology of the islands is then described, and the author devotes some sixty pages to ethnographical information about the various islands which has not appeared in the earlier volumes. The islands are dealt with one by one, and the article on each island contains, in addition to facts collected by the Cambridge Expedition, but omitted in the other volumes, a very full account of all the material available about the island and its people from other sources. In many cases the authorities are quoted verbatim and at length, and since, even when the information has been published, the publications are in many cases obscure, while in many other instances the information was only in manuscript form, this summary is a not unimportant contribution.

Part II of the volume contains an outline of the information available about the Western Papuans, the natives of South Netherland New Guinea, and the natives of North Queensland.

Part III, which constitutes about a third of the book, is a summary of the material given in the other volumes, but certain aspects of the native cultures have been treated with extra completeness. Thus Part III is not only a convenient guide to the other volumes, but also contains the last word upon a number of subjects.

The disposal of the dead and mummification, matters which have acquired extra interest from Elliot Smith's comparison of Torres Straits mummies with those of the XXIst dynasty in Egypt, are treated as fully as the material permits. The evidence is given with a scrupulous exactness and clarity which will be an example to all who have to make a final statement of a controversial matter. Dr. Haddon has given Elliot Smith's and Dawson's views and he has given the evidence upon which they are based. It is for the reader to decide how far the resemblances between the techniques of the Torres Straits and of Egypt are real, and whether they are indicative of diffusion of Egyptian culture to the Torres Straits.

The matter is complicated by the fact that, although the practices in the two places closely resemble one another, each people had pragmatic reasons for its technique; and the reasons in the two places differ pro-

foundly. In Egypt, the skin of the finger-tips and the nails was removed in order that the latter might not be lost during the immersion of the body in brine. In the Torres Straits, the same parts were removed and were dried, to be worn by the widow. In Egypt, these parts were removed from the bodies of both sexes, but in the Torres Straits this was only done to the bodies of men.

Similarly, in regard to the various perforations which were made to permit drainage, the Torres Straits natives made these in parts of the body which broadly coincide with those chosen by the Egyptians, but it is probable that these spots were actually the most appropriate for the draining of a body suspended on a vertical framework.

It is clear that though two peoples may have different reasons for the performance of the same act, this is not evidence against any theory of diffusion from the one people to the other. It can at most only indicate that a theory of diffusion is unnecessary.

Until we know a very great deal more about the laws of cultural change, it will not profit us to put forward speculative theories as to the distant origins of custom. Dr. Haddon, indeed, has chiefly worked throughout his life upon unravelling, not wide diffusion with the whole surface of the earth as its stage, but the details of cultural borrowing within narrow areas. By narrowing his field, he is more likely to have given us conclusions which will reflect upon the laws of culture contact.

One problem may be raised. Dr. Haddon uses, as part of his evidence for the direction of diffusion, native statements about the place from which culture heroes are said to have come. It would be of great importance to determine the significance of the sort of statement about the coming of Malu, quoted on p. 391: "Recently MacFarlane has informed me that when he mentioned Muralug (Prince of Wales Island) to Pasi, the latter said 'most emphatically: 'No, not Muralug, that one he too 'close. I mean that other place, Marilag, down the 'coast.'"

I am not sufficiently familiar with Torres Straits pidgin to be sure of the meaning of "that one he too close," but the words would seem to indicate that the proximity of Muralug to Mer, the home of the informant, made Muralug seem to him inappropriate or unlikely to be the place of origin of a culture hero. If factors of this sort are at work in the shaping of native belief about the origin of culture heroes, then we must look narrowly at evidence for direction of diffusion based on such myths. It would appear that a very considerable psychological knowledge of a native people is necessary for the interpretation of their mythology.

Dr. Haddon himself was well aware even in 1898 "that psychological investigations must be undertaken before any real advance could be made in ethnology," and therefore took three psychologists with him on his expedition. Since then no such research has been carried out by a group of English anthropologists and psychologists, and both sciences are severely handicapped through our failure to follow the example set by Dr. Haddon.

G. B.

**A Kikuyu-English Dictionary.** With a General Introduction to the Phonetics, Orthography and Spelling of Kikuyu. Compiled by the Rev. Leonard J. Beecher and Gladys S. B. Beecher, Church Missionary Society, Kahukia, Fort Hall, Kenya Colony. In three vols., cyclostyled, 1st edition, 100 copies.

The production of a Kikuyu Dictionary is a noteworthy event. Kikuyu is the language of the Kikuyu people (Bantu), numbering some 500,000-600,000, from whom also the Kikuyu Province of Kenya Colony takes its name. Although the study of this rich and interesting language had its beginnings in the first



years of this century, such vocabularies as have been published hitherto have been of limited scope. The work under review is both comprehensive and scholarly. Mr. Beecher has qualifications, including those of phonetician and ethnologist, which fit him well for the task he and his wife have undertaken. Mrs. Beecher is likewise well equipped and she has had the further advantage of a youth spent in close contact with Kikuyu natives at the mission station of her father, Canon Leakey, of the C.M.S., to whom the Dictionary is dedicated. Canon Leakey projected such a work many years ago, and it is pleasing to note that much of his material has been utilized.

The compilers have adopted the method of grouping all words which have, or may be presumed to have, a common root. At the same time, for convenience of reference, individual derivatives are given again in their appropriate alphabetical categories. This is probably the only scientific system for a Bantu language. Where the supposed root-verb has apparently ceased to be used in its primary form, the missing root is supplied. This practice is no doubt sound up to a point, but it takes much for granted, and its usefulness is minimized when the ideas at the back of such obsolete or suppositional verbal roots cannot be at all confidently defined.

It is not to be expected that all the definitions given will be accepted as final. Anyone who has had experience in African lexicology knows how difficult it is to arrive at precise and complete definitions where ideas are concerned. In the realm of the abstract the African mind roves free and untrammelled and is able to harmonize the paradoxical and seemingly contradictory in a way that staggers the European investigator limited by his more rigid and meticulous mental processes. The Dictionary presents a very full collection of words, but is by no means exhaustive. Some of the suggested derivations may be considered rather fanciful, or, at any rate, insufficiently attested. The ethnological notes which occur here and there are an interesting and helpful feature. Again, some of the information given in these notes may not be taken without question, as, for example, the list of the 'major age-grades' (under *itũika*, p. 68), in regard to which every inquirer arrives at a different result.

A glance through the book confirms the fact that since the Kikuyu came into contact with other races, with Swahili as the medium of communication, many words have been borrowed from the latter language and 'Kikuyu-ized.' To very many of the younger people such words are now part of their own speech. A number of these borrowed words are not distinguished in the Dictionary. It will be a pity if Bantu students are inadvertently led to accept them as genuine Kikuyu.

This Dictionary would be valuable even if for nothing else than its most excellent Introduction. This comprises an able analysis of the speech-sounds of Kikuyu and an account of the operation of its phonetic laws, together with paragraphs on Orthography, Tone (which, in Kikuyu, has not yet been adequately studied), Accent and Stress, Spelling. Discussion of the statements and conclusions is not possible in a brief review. The whole section is very well done, though there are points which are open to question, and, in particular, one does not agree with what is stated regarding the 'accentation' of verbs and nouns derived from them. The orthography employed is that of the United Kikuyu Language Committee. In some respects it is admittedly not an ideal one. The recent decision to change to the orthography advocated by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures has been rendered nugatory by the opposition of the literate natives. Complete unanimity has not yet been attained in

regard to the principles to be followed in *spelling*  
Kikuyu.

Mr. and Mrs. Beecher are to be congratulated on the result of their labours. They have done a fine piece of work and laid a good foundation for a future standard dictionary of Kikuyu. The cyclostyling is beautifully done, and typographical errors are few.

A. RUFFELL BARLOW.

**43 A Hundred Years of Anthropology (The Hundred Years Series).** By T. K. Penniman. London, Gerald Duckworth, 1935. 8vo, 400 pp. Price 15s.

Mr. Pennington divides his *History of Anthropology* into four periods: the formulary period (to 1835); the convergent period (1835-1859); the constructive period (1859-1899); and the critical period (1900 onward). Some kind of division was undoubtedly necessary, and the author advances trenchant arguments to support the institution of his periods.

In a work which must of necessity be largely compilation, the author's success depends on his skill and acumen in selecting and using his authorities. Omissions were bound to occur; but it is somewhat disconcerting to find no mention of the work of Kroeber, Thilenius, Czekanowski, Maudslayi, and others. The important subject of race-crosses, and especially the work of Eugen Fischer and Rodenwaldt, might have received more detailed treatment, and the section on climatology would have been much improved by a reference to the books of Brookes, and of Gams and Nordhagen.

The book ends with a chapter on the author's views on the future of Anthropology in which emphasis is laid on the importance of growth and vitality.

The reviewer has observed some misprints, and a number of bibliographical inaccuracies. For instance, *Prähistorische*, p. 269, for *Prähistorische*; A. B. Lewis, p. 240, should read A. B. Ellis, and there are later editions of Martin's *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, and Brunhes' *La géographie humaine*, than those quoted in the text and in the bibliography. Boule's magnificent monograph on *L'Homme fossile de la Chapelle-aux-Saints*, published in *Annales de Paléontologie*, vols. 6-8, 1911-1913, and separately, might have been mentioned with advantage.

Mr. Penniman has written an interesting and readable book, and he is to be congratulated on his courage in attempting so formidable a task. L. J. P. G.

**Die Gleichwertigkeit der Europäischen Rassen  
und die Wege zu ihrer Vervollkommnung.**  
44 Edited by Prof. Dr. Karel Weigner. Prag-  
Verlag der Tschechischen Akademie der Wissen-  
schaften und Künste. 163 pp.

This little book is to some extent a retort to the modern exaggeration of the political anthropologists. It includes three chapters by Matiegka, one historical, one touching our present-day knowledge of European races, and one touching race and mind. Those final chapters deal with questions of race and health. Like most students, Matiegka notes the smallness of the so-called Nordic element in the German population. A little more reserve in the use of Czekanowski's types would be welcome; it is difficult to speak of relatives as belonging to different races: it would be wiser to say that they exhibit different bundles of physical characters in their persons.

H. J. F.

**Centres de Style de la Sculpture Nègre Africaine.**  
**45 I. Afrique Occidentale Française.** *Par Carl Kjerfve.* Paris, 1935. 48 pp., pls. 64. Editions Albert Morance. Price 50 fr. français.

This attractively produced book is the first of



a series of five volumes on African Sculpture, complete with illustrations, bibliography and notes. It is evidently intended rather for the collector than the anthropologist, as print, paper, and plates are admirable, while the documentation is somewhat meagre. The data collected about each tribe is given without any sources, and we do not therefore know if the information about the use of masks, the religious beliefs and historical background of the different cultures is obtained from ethnological literature or in the course of the author's own travels in West Africa. He says that wherever possible he gives 'les explications des indigènes,' but this is a vague term for the various kinds of informant. But though the

author makes little attempt to explain the function of the work of art or to relate it to tribal culture, he has made a very careful aesthetic study of the different styles and modes of expression, and has a sensitive eye to beauty of form and line. It is extremely interesting to have the artistic activities of each tribe analysed and described, and stylistic characteristics noted. This volume deals with the Sudan, Guinea, and the Gold Coast, an area covering the beautiful antelope masks of the Bambara, the fine wooden statues of the Habbé, Baga and Senofo, the powerful Dan masks, and the delightfully individual and expressive figures of the Baoulé.

A. B. V. DREW.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Is The Savage a Scientist?

**46** Sir.—If Mr. Digby refers to my paper, he will find that I did not say that all inventors were men of leisure, but that "every advance in material culture, the history of which is known, has taken place in an atmosphere of wealth and leisure." Does Mr. Digby think that Faraday and Stephenson would have made their inventions if they had been born and brought up in New Guinea?

His theory that inventions are produced by the desire for leisure and for saving effort will not stand investigation. Millions of African women are occupied daily in the monotonous and disagreeable task of grinding corn with a push-quern, yet they have never invented the rotary quern, nor even the pestle and mortar.

As for Major Gordon, I must again remind him of the foundations on which my views are based. They are, firstly, that mentioned in the first sentence of this letter, and, secondly, that every account which we have of a savage culture shows it as either static or decadent. My belief that these are facts will not be shaken by any guesses which Major Gordon may make at the age of the Spanish rock-paintings or the origin of bows or boats. If he could produce evidence that the Bihls have actually invented something it would be a different matter, but he seems to regard the idea of doing so as ridiculous.

RAGLAN.

### Culture Contact and Schismogenesis. (Cf. MAN, 1935, 199.)

**47** Sir.—In a conversation Mrs. Seligman has pointed out to me a weakness in my formal exposition of schismogenesis. As I have put the matter, it is not possible to distinguish "reciprocal" from "symmetrical" patterns; and Mrs. Seligman very pertinently asked me under which head I would classify "potlatch" systems, in which sometimes one individual, and sometimes his rival, gives the potlatch. According to my definition, these would fall under the heading of reciprocal patterns, but I had also said that reciprocal patterns were non-schismogenic and the potlatch is clearly a symmetrical schismogenic system and involves rivalry.

I think that this criticism is a valid one, but that it can be met by an addition to my definition of reciprocal behaviour: it is possible to imagine a series of cases in which, at one end of the series, A sometimes destroys property, while at other times B destroys property, with a rivalry between A and B in the amount destroyed. Such a pattern I should describe as symmetrical and schismogenic. In the middle of the series we should have cases where A gives property to B and vice versa, but where the emphasis is solely upon the pride of giving. At the other end of the series would be cases in which the cultural emphasis was as much upon receiving as upon

giving, and these cases we might describe as reciprocal and non-schismogenic.

In fact, as in the definition of complementary patterns I was forced to speak of "behaviour which is culturally regarded as assertive", so also in the definition of reciprocal patterns it is necessary to state the cultural emphasis.

GREGORY BATESON.

### Bride Wealth as a Bar to Marriage.

**48** Sir.—Hollis,<sup>1</sup> speaking of the Nandi, tells us that "Families may often not intermarry, though there may be no direct prohibition against the intermarriage of the clans to which the families belong." This cryptic statement is somewhat difficult to understand, and Hollis himself gives no reasons for the prohibition which he mentions. A solution to the problem may perhaps be found in a study of the distribution of bride-wealth amongst the Didinga.

Speaking of these people (i.e., the Didinga) Driberg<sup>2</sup> mentions that "when a definite proposal of marriage has been made, the girl's family inquires minutely into the suitor's antecedents to ensure that there is no clan connection which would be a bar to the marriage, a point which is readily decided by ascertaining whether or not any dowry cattle have ever passed between their respective families." He goes on to mention that the people who are entitled to receive dowry are the wife's mother and father, the paternal uncle, the maternal uncle, maternal aunt, paternal aunt, maternal grandmother, brother, mother's sister's son, father's sister's son, maternal uncle's son, and the sister's husband. Clansmen who attend the ceremony and 'friends' of the bride may also get something, but these are of minor importance and need not be considered.

The bride-wealth is therefore distributed to members of six different clans, and, if Driberg's statement is correct, there would be at least six clans into which the offspring of the marriage in question would be prohibited from marrying. If, every time there is a marriage, six clans are affected, and if the receipt of bride-wealth by one clan from another is a bar to marriage, then, when all the marriages that a family may make are considered, it is clear that the time must very soon arrive when the number of clans which have received bride-wealth from any given clan must be so great that the offspring will find great difficulty in finding suitable mates with whom marriage is not barred. This would be an impossible situation, but the key to the problem may perhaps lie in the statement of Hollis quoted at the beginning of this note.

The bride-wealth is paid by the suitor to the prospective wife's father in a lump sum, and it is the father's duty to distribute it to all those who are entitled to receive a share. It would seem that the ban only extends



to the clan to which the bride-wealth is handed over (i.e., the wife's father's clan) and to such families belonging to other clans as receive a share of it. It is only the father's clan that is regarded in a classificatory manner. The other families are regarded as individual families who are related by marriage, and although marriage is barred with them, the prohibition does not extend to all the members of the clan to which they belong.

If this is so, then the statement of Hollis is understandable. He does not say how the bride-wealth is distributed among the Nandi, but it seems probable that the families with which marriage is barred are those who at some time or another have received bride-wealth from some previous marriage.

Cambridge.

J. O. FIELD.

<sup>1</sup> Hollis, A. C. "The Nandi," p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Driberg, J. H. "Didinga Customary Law"—Sudan Notes and Records, vol. viii, No. 2, p. 154.

**Bow-Stand or Trident?** (Cf. MAN, 1935, 32, 87, 105, 106).

**49** SIR.—Under the above heading Dr. Audrey I. Richards publishes in MAN, 1935 (No. 32; and cf. also 1929, 147, and 1932, 103) an interesting article on certain old iron objects from the Babemba of N.E. Rhodesia, and also from the Baunga and the Babisa of Lake Bangweolo. They are definitely regarded as sacred relics, handed down to the successors to certain chieftainships or priestly offices. Among the Babemba, Dr. Richards found them kept in the relic-houses of chiefs or in possession of certain hereditary councillors, among the Babisa and Baunga on the graves or beneath the sacred burial-trees of chiefs. In all the three tribes

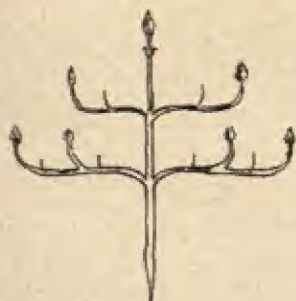


FIG. 1.

mentioned the natives declare emphatically that the objects came from the Baluba country. According to Dr. Richards, they are employed as bow-and-arrow-stands, and in her article she gives a photograph showing two such stands actually in use (stuck into the ground) for the purpose mentioned.

Dr. Richards concludes her article with the following words: "I publish these notes in the hope that those working among the Baluba at the present day may be encouraged to send us any information they may have as to the use of such iron bow-and-arrow-stands in that area today." In view of the above I would say that in my opinion Dr. Richards' native informants most probably are correct when they state that the objects in question originate from the Baluba country. At any rate, they do occur there—or, at all events, did occur about 25 years ago—used as bow-and-arrow-stands (*porte-arc-et-flèches*), or weapon-stands generally

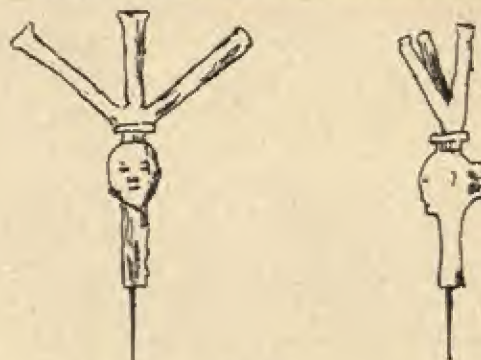


FIG. 2.

(*porte-armes*), according to what Father Colle states. In his monograph on the Baluba, on the subject of the furniture found in the huts, he writes: "A noter le 'porte-armes fourchu en bois à triple pointe, d'un cachet souvent esthétique, qui est fiché en terre à côté du lit conjugal, du côté de la paroi ou qui est piqué directement dans la paroi. Dans la partie fourchue se posent l'arc, les flèches, les lances: c'est parfois d'une jolie fantaisie ornementale'" (Colle, *Les Baluba*, I, p. 167, II, Pl. IX: Fig. 11. Bruxelles, 1913). From Colle I here reproduce some drawings of arrow-stands, Figs. 1-2 (1 of iron, 2 of wood).

Judging from Colle's account, stands of this type appear to have been in rather common use among the Baluba, seeing that he makes no mention of their being restricted exclusively to chiefs or other notables. This distinction—the only essential one—from conditions in N.E. Rhodesia would cease to exist if it could be established that the leading families in that country are of Baluba origin. This is, however, a point that I consider as being outside of the present little discussion, which is only intended as an affirmative reply to Dr. Richards's enquiry as to the occurrence of these weapon-stands among the Baluba.

In conclusion I take this opportunity of mentioning—seeing that in an earlier discussion in MAN these objects have in some degree been connected with tridents—that I have dealt with bidents and tridents, etc., in a paper ("Spears with two or more heads, particularly in Africa") embodied in *Essays presented to C. G. Seligman* (London, 1934). On this subject I have since collected further material from Africa—also referring to staffs and other forked objects—which I intend to publish as soon as I can find time for it.

GERHARD LINDBLOM.

**Bena Pottery: a Correction.** (cf. MAN, 1935, 185).

**50** SIR.—In my account of *Bena Pottery* (MAN, 1935, 185) as printed, the numbering of Fig. III does not correspond at all with the numbering



in the text, and what is more, it puts the section on technique all awry, because the order of the half-made pots has been changed. To make sense of what is written in the text, the numbers along the top of Fig. III should read as follows: 2, 3, 4, 1.



FIG. III. 1-4, STAGES IN MANUFACTURE: 5-10, IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING WAHENA POTTERY.

The figuring of the section on implements is also wrong as it stands, but as the implements are shown in the same order this does not affect the sense, and it is quite clear which object is meant in each sentence.

G. M. CULWICK.

Kiberege, Tanganyika Territory.

[The Editor expresses his regret for this mistake, due to rearrangement of the photographs supplied; and reprints 'Figure III' with the correct numerals.]

#### The Wren in Welsh Folklore. (cf. MAN, 1936, 1).

**51** SIR—With reference to my paper *The Wren in Welsh Folklore*, I find in conversation with Mr. H. W. Evans, Solva, Pembrokeshire, who recorded the Welsh song quoted on page 3, that the original version of verse two read "a'i dri brawd ar ddeg" (with his thirteen [not 'eleven'] brothers). Mr. Evans had 'corrected' this to 'eleven' since he was given to understand that it "referred to the twelve 'disciples'". I shall be grateful if your readers will note this correction.

IORWERTH C. PEATE.

#### Indonesian Influence on East African Culture.

**52** SIR.—Mr. Hornell's paper, *J.R.A.S.*, LXIV (1934), pp. 305-332 provides much interest in the evidence of the Sumatran influences in view of the fact that the Sayabiga mercenary troops in Mesopotamia were absorbed into a local tribe after the Moslem conquest of that country. I am making parallel researches based upon the evidence shown by certain classes of weapons such as the "chopper-sword," "falcated knife," etc. In 1910 on returning from Gambela down the Baro, I acquired a remarkable dug-out canoe near the Adoura entrance. The Nilotic dug-out is made frequently from two large deleb-palm trees, as no other suitable material is available. The hollowed trees are joined at their thickest ends by means of fibre cords or pegs. They are caulked with grass and clay only, so that they are generally leaky. The canoe illustrated had been carved out of a very hard black wood. Its design was different from any which I had seen previously at Suakim or on the Nile. The bow was slightly cut away below the deck level and a hole for a mooring rope was bored through each end of the canoe. Both ends were identical. Inside, ribs of a semi-circular form which tapered from the bottom to the gunnel had

been carved out of the log and left to strengthen the sides. These ribs were about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch wide on the floor and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  an inch high from the smooth inside surface of the canoe. The gunwale was about an inch thick and the entire surfaces of the canoe were as smooth as if they had been sand-papered. I took this Anuak (?) canoe down to Port Sudan where I was stationed. It was used as a dinghy by one of the Customs sambuks and was sold with the vessel when she was discarded from the service. I am unable to indicate what culture this canoe may have indicated. It is most improbable that any European influence is indicated as the territory was virtually unadministrated at that time. I was surprised to learn from the reis (captain) of our sambuk that there was a regular trade in these houris (canoes) which were carried in native sailing vessels from Zanzibar to Aden, Hodeidah and Jeddah. At that time they sold for £5 to £10 each, according to size, material and workmanship. Some of the Italian sambuks I saw during the war carried two of these dug-out canoes, but I never saw one identical in type with the one I found on the Baro.

ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.

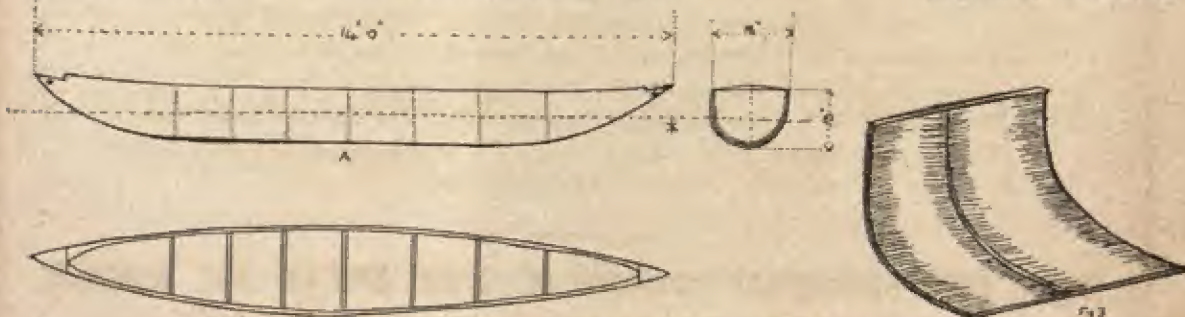


FIG. I. DUG-OUT CANOE FROM THE ADOURA ENTRANCE OF THE BARO RIVER.









1. ROLLED KAFFIAN TOOLS.  
*Kafu River gravels, Bunyoro.*



2. FLAKES OF UGANDA 'CHROMERIAN' TYPE.  
*Talus deposits below 150-200 ft. terrace near  
Nsongezi, Ankole.*



3. EARLY ACHEULEAN HAND-AXES.  
*Site on Kariandusi River, Kenya Colony.*



4. UPPER ACHEULEAN TOOLS.  
*Near top of 100 ft. terrace silts, Nsongezi.*



5. UPPER ACHEULEAN AND TUMBIAN "BIFACES."  
*"O" horizon near top of 100 ft. terrace silts, Nsongezi;  
showing transitional and developed Tumbian forms.*



6. TRANSITION FROM UPPER ACHEULEAN "CLEAVERS"  
TO DEVELOPED TUMBIAN "TRANCHETS."  
*"O" horizon, Nsongezi.*

# IMPLEMENTS OF THE STONE AGE CULTURES OF UGANDA.



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXVI. 53-75

MARCH, 1936

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa : East.

With Plate C.

O'Brien.

NOTES ON THE STONE AGE CULTURES OF UGANDA. *By T. P. O'Brien.*

**53** These notes only refer very briefly to stratigraphical evidence which is still incomplete. In *Rifts, Rivers, Rains and Early Man in Uganda*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wayland has outlined his many years' work on the prehistory of this country, and tabulated the results of his inquiries into the geological and climatological setting of human times. With characteristic caution he refrains from suggesting that either his inquiries or his conclusions are final. For the same reason, it is to be understood that this paper is simply a preliminary view of the prehistory of a country rich both in archaeological remains and in puzzling problems of culture and geology.

As this expedition has only been in the country for a year, several stages of culture have yet to be properly studied in their type areas. For that reason it is not possible to figure the Oldowan and Chellean types.

*The Kafuan and the Oldowan.*—The Kafuan pebble culture is, in every particular, the most primitive recognizable in Africa. Its geological position shows that it definitely antedates the Oldowan as found by Leakey in Oldoway Bed I, and in many places in Uganda. From the geological evidence it appears likely that the Kafuan began in very remote times and lasted for an extremely long period. The nature of the material, quartz, and the extent to which rolling has often taken place, make it sometimes difficult to decide which are naturally-fractured pebbles and which are humanly-flaked implements. However, undoubted artifacts and flakes occur. The flaking on the pebbles is simply a rough reduction of the natural edges to produce cutting or chopping tools, mostly quite small. These bear a striking resemblance to the Darmsdenian pebble-tools of the Sub-Crag. Such flakes as there are show no special preparation, and are probably merely the wasters (*déchetage*) of the other tools. We have found one site where the tools are mint-fresh.

These implements mainly occur in terrace gravels deposited by 'Pluvial I' rivers, that is, before the Kaiso Interpluvial whose faunal remains antedate Oldoway Bed I. During the Interpluvial there is no sign of contemporary Kafuan humanity, but in the succeeding wet period, again in terrace gravels, more evolved Kafuan pebble tools and flakes are found as well as the beginning of Oldowan types. I believe that the *true* Oldowan has few pebble-tools, but that the type-implements (rough choppers, etc.), were made on blocks of stone of convenient size and shape.

The type tool of the true Oldowan, as found in Uganda, is a crude chopper. In some cases a piece of stone was chipped all over so that the intersection of some of the flake-scars produced a low keel along one side. Another very common type was made by selecting a piece of stone with a flat side. Using this as a platform, flakes were struck from its edge, probably every time it became blunted through use. This type of implement persists for a long time, and in Uganda is found plentifully in Upper Acheulean assemblages. One need hardly say that choppers of this sort would be found useful by peoples of any period, just as spherical hammer-stones also persist.

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.A.I.*, vol. LXIV, July-December, 1934, p. 333 *et seq.*



*The Uganda 'Cromerian.'*—This is the name I have given to a very crude, large-flake culture, present in several parts of Uganda, perhaps in many. It is certainly not Clactonian. So far, we have only found it, comparatively fresh, in talus-deposits of angular materials lining the sides of hills and valleys. At one site near Nsongezi, on the Kagera River, it has been cut into by the 150–200 ft. river, whose gravels lower down stream contain Late Kafuan tools. As Wayland has found,<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Solomon confirmed, these angular taluses were produced under arid (temperature minus humidity) conditions. The evidence therefore suggests that the Uganda Cromerian belongs to a dry period which preceded Pluvial II, that is, to the Interpluvial. It is therefore older than Oldoway Bed I. But there is also evidence suggesting that it continued into Pluvial II (Kamasian) times, for it seems to be part of the Sangoan *mélange*.

The tools are mainly large, unprepared flakes which often have natural outer faces—joint and bedding planes, etc. The striking-platforms are usually flat or a little inclined, and small in area. Very rarely, the edges of the thicker flakes were retouched to make chopping or scraping tools. Occasional blocks of stone were similarly retouched.

*The Chellean.*—In the same terrace gravels (150–200 ft.) of the top terrace of the Kagera we have found a few water-rolled tools which can only be regarded as proto- or early-Chellean in type. Although the tools are fairly small, the chipping was clearly with the intention of producing two edges, and perhaps a point, instead of the single-edged chipping of the Kafuan-Oldowan. Their condition shows them to be later, I think, as they are not so heavily water-rolled. But there are so few of this type that it would be unwise to suggest that they mark the transition from the primitive pebble-tools to the Chellean.

True Chellean does not occur widely in Uganda. There appear to be several stages, however, which seem to conform to the normal succession as seen in other parts of Africa.

Probably the earliest true Chellean stage occurs in the Toro-Semliki area, in the Western Province. Here, the tools are of great size, and very crudely made. The narrow ends are frequently 'out' on the long axes, the undersides tend to flatness and the upper are often humped or keeled.

In a somewhat later stage, found near Bugungu and on the Sango Hills, both on Lake Victoria, the flatness of the bottoms is even more pronounced, being usually a plain, tabular surface which was used as a platform, on the edges of which the flake-detaching blows were struck. As the flake-scars tended to converge, a marked keel on the upper side often results. Crude cleavers are also associated.

*The Acheulean.*—From the Chellean to the earliest Acheulean (characterized by the introduction of 'wood technique'<sup>3</sup>) there is no appreciable evolution in the sense that definite stages can be recognized. On the contrary, there appears to be a gap in the succession in Uganda. This may, however, be lessened as our work progresses.

The lowest stratigraphically-dated Acheulean occurs in the M-horizon, which, as Wayland has shown,<sup>4</sup> marks a climatic break in Pluvial II. The majority of the implements are made on large flakes, which, being thin, were especially adaptable to 'wood technique.' But even so, the greater part of the material is boldly chipped by stone-flaking and only a small proportion show real wood technique. For these reasons, there can be little doubt that the M-horizon stage is Early Acheulean, comparable, no doubt, to Dr. Leakey's Stage I-II, at Oldoway.

The next phase occurs in the same series of beds, but a good deal higher up, and is again associated with a climatic break.

Once again, it seems that intervening stages are missing or very poorly represented in this area. Instead of showing the advance in technique heralded in the M-horizon, there is, on the contrary, an appreciable falling-off in workmanship. Few of the hand-axes of the N-horizon attain, at all, the symmetry of those of the earlier phase, either in the flaking, which is niggling and done with stone

<sup>2</sup> Wayland, *l.c.*, p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> The chief result of employing wood technique to the flaking of hand-axes was the production of flat, ripple-marked flake scars. It can only be used if the object is fairly thin to begin with. As Dr. Leakey pointed out in *Adam's Ancestors*, 'wood technique' flaking can be

done almost as well by stone hammers, provided the blows are struck on the edge of the piece, *i.e.*, almost in the same plane as the object as it is held in the hand. In a sense, it is a form of pressure flaking, since the flakes are 'pushed off.'

<sup>4</sup> Wayland, *l.c.*, p. 356.



hammers, or in the general shape, which is clumsy. The points, however, received careful attention. This sort of retrogression in style is quite out of the gradual evolutionary succession as displayed in other parts of Africa, and one can only conclude that it marks a stage somewhere near the end. That it is not the final phase, however, is proved by the contents of the next stratigraphical horizon, O, also in the same series of deposits, and similarly marking a minor oscillation from wet to dry.

Here, there is plenty of rather well-made Upper Acheulean, strongly resembling the material of the N-horizon, except that it is better. Although the majority of the hand-axes are still asymmetrical as regards their butts, more attention was paid to the upper halves, nearest the point.

The O-horizon, however, is chiefly remarkable for the appearance of an entirely new *biface* technique, in fact of a new type. This is the Tumbian.

*The Tumbian.*—This culture has been known for many years in the French and Belgian Congos, where it has been found both in open and home sites. In those areas, various derivatives appear to have descended from the Early Tumbian, some of which may be quite late.

The characteristic tools are oval or long *bifaces*, generally parallel-sided with rounded or slightly tapering points. These later develop into beautiful *feuilles-de-laurier*, thin in section, and perfectly symmetrical. Points and scrapers occur as well. Another common Tumbian type tool is a *tranchet*, rather similar, when small, to Campignian transverse arrow-heads, and when large to minute, narrow Lower Palaeolithic cleavers.

Despite the fact that it has proved aggravatingly difficult to get the Tumbian *in situ* in the O-horizon, there can be no doubt that it occurs there with the advanced Upper Acheulean. The well-marked implementiferous rubble is intercalated between more or less stoneless lake sediments—strong circumstantial evidence in favour of this. Dr. Solomon has examined this horizon at many places and is in complete agreement with me on this question. Moreover—and actually of more importance than its presence in the same horizon as Upper Acheulean—a very complete transition can be demonstrated from the Acheulean to the Tumbian. In practice, it has sometimes been found difficult to decide which was which, so close is the division between the better type of hand-axe and the early Tumbian *bifaces* (Fig. 5). In the same way, the *tranchets* can be seen to evolve out of the cleavers.

At present it is impossible to say whether this curious development of the Acheulean was a natural process off the main line, or whether the advanced Acheulean merely borrowed elements out of the already existing Tumbian, coming from, say, the Congo. However that may be, a highly evolved, very small final Acheulean occurs in Uganda, unmixed with Tumbian. In Kenya and at Oldoway, that is also the case.

*The Levalloisian.*—The first appearance of the Levalloisian seems to be at a period somewhere between the Lower Acheulean of the M-horizon and the Upper Acheulean of the N-horizon. After that, it carries on almost indefinitely until its final development into the Still-Bay phase. There is nothing striking about this culture except its longevity and the fact that it occurs everywhere in Uganda. Its progression is a monotonous one from small and crude beginnings, through a larger stage or stages, then smaller again, ever diminishing in size, until the end.

At Walasi, in the Eastern Province, we found it at its transition into Still-Bay. Once more, *biface* tools came into favour, simulating in an astonishing way toy-like Acheulean ovates. These later become thinner and longer until true Still-Bay lances and points become the type tools. Plain and faceted flakes, small tortoise-cores struck from opposite sides, and various scrapers were also abundant.

*The Upper Palaeolithic.*—It was a matter of great surprise to find no trace in this country of anything similar to the Aurignacian of Kenya. Later, a possible reason to account for this was seen to lie in the rarity here of any material suitable for the production of long, strong-backed blades and burins. These form an essential part of the Aurignacian of Kenya, already in a developed stage. It is not very difficult, therefore, to understand the apparent shunning of this country in favour of Kenya, where an abundance of obsidian was obtainable.

*The Mesolithic.*—All that could be said regarding our present knowledge of the Mesolithic in Uganda has been said elsewhere concerning the Magosian.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *The Magosian Culture of Uganda*, J.R.A.I., lxii, 1932, pp. 369-391.



*The Neolithic.*—This is a widespread industry of microlithic type, without polished tools, occurring abundantly in caves and shelters, and in the open.

The tools include lunates, minute tapering backed-blades, small scrapers. Pottery is always associated, at any rate in home sites, and is always well-made. This fact, and the impoverished aspect of the whole industry, suggests that it is very late, indeed, perhaps only a few centuries old.

Assam.

Bose.

**THE NOKROM SYSTEM OF THE GAROS OF ASSAM.** By J. K. Bose, M.A., Research Scholar, Calcutta University.

**54** The Garos, who live in the 'southern boundary of the Brahmaputra Valley' in the Province of Assam (India), are one of the few primitive tribes in India which still reckon their descent and inheritance through the mother. In contact with the highly advanced culture of the Hindus, who are their neighbours, the Plains Garos have many Hindu customs but in matters of marriage inheritance and so on, which come in the province of social organization, the original customs are still followed with much persistence. The 'Nokrom System,' which forms the subject of this article, is very interesting from the point of view of social organization, as it has an important bearing on the marriage regulation of the Garos.

Colonel Dalton, as early as 1872, recorded a custom like this without giving any proper detail. He has also mentioned in this connection that "indications exist of this custom having once obtained amongst the aboriginal tribes of Central India. At the ceremonies of some of the lowest agricultural tribes of Bihar, supposed to be descended from aborigines, probably Kols, the sister's son (*bhanja*) of the person who is married, or mourns, performs the ceremony."<sup>1</sup> He continues that "it appears the custom is not unknown to the African tribes. Messrs. D. and C. Livingston tell us, speaking of the Kebrabasa people on the Zambesi, that a sister's son has much more chance of succeeding to a chieftainship than the chief's own offspring, it being unquestionable that the sister's child has the family blood."<sup>2</sup>

Curiously enough, no reference has been made about such an important custom as this in the classical monograph on the Garos by Major A. Playfair.

Another reference has also been made on this subject by Dr. B. Bonnerji in his article entitled 'Material for the Study of Garo Ethnology'

(*Indian Antiquary*, July, 1929, p. 126), but he has dealt with it as briefly as possible. Nevertheless, he has mentioned in this connection a custom prevalent among the Wahche of East Africa which requires a man, after his marriage, to sleep with his mother-in-law "before he may cohabit with his wife."

In the following pages, an attempt will be made to describe at length these highly interesting as well as important social regulations, based on the data collected in the course of my field work among the Garos.

There are two kinds of son-in-law among the Garos, one is called *nokrom* and the other *chowary*. Between these two a great deal of difference exists as to rights and privileges about the property of their parents-in-law. The *nokrom* is the luckier man of the two, because after the death of the father-in-law he becomes the owner of everything.

As the Garos are matrilineal and follow the rules of matrilocal residence, sons-in-law after the marriage used to live in the village of the mother-in-law. But in this case also the *nokrom* gets the privilege of living in the house of his mother-in-law, whereas the *chowary* has to build a separate house in that village at his own cost, though sometimes he is helped by the father-in-law and by the members of the village. Inheritance is always in the female line, but the husband of the woman manages the property on her behalf and he is practically at the helm of affairs. In the case of *nokrom*, after the death of the father-in-law he becomes the manager of all the estates through his wife. The *chowary*, on the contrary, claims no right over these properties. He has to maintain his family from the output of the *akim* lands allotted to his share as the *chowary* of the village. The *nokrom* of a *nokma* (headman of the village) succeeds to the office after the death of the *nokma*.

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, Colonel E. T.: *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63; and Livingston, D. and C.: *The Zambesi*, p. 162.



The crucial point of this system lies in the selection of a *nokrom*, which generally falls on the father, and by him the preference is always given to his own sister's son. If the sister's son refuses to marry, the selection is made from among men of the same *mahari* (sub-clan). But as a rule the *nokrom* is selected from the sister's sons.

In the case of daughters the selection of the girl for *nokrom* is a very one-sided affair, because there is no hard-and-fast rule to select the eldest or the youngest. On the other hand, it rests entirely in the hands of the parents, who select any of the girls for the prized position, specially in the family of the headman, where a great difference lies between the wife of a *nokrom* and that of a *chowary*. Here the *nokrom*, after the death of the headman, succeeds to the post and becomes the general manager of all lands of the village. On the other hand, a *chowary*, who is sometimes the elder brother of the *nokrom*, has to live under his control and even has to pay a tax to the headman as a member of the village, but never grudges his authority.

The youngest daughter is generally selected, because the elder sisters are married before her, and they are helped by the father to build their houses, and are also supplied with lands for their maintenance. Moreover, the youngest daughter is generally the most favourite member of the family, and at the time of her marriage the father has become old and is in need of a helping hand for his work.

Different opinions prevail among the various divisions of the Garos as to the number of wives a *nokrom* can take. It is a custom with almost all the divisions that a *nokrom* cannot marry more than one girl at a time. Only in exceptional cases can he keep more than one wife, and in that case only with the permission of the first wife. Among the Aton-Garos the *nokrom* can marry two or three girls at a time, if they are all his wife's own sisters. But sometimes girls other than his wife's sisters are married to the *nokrom*. In all these cases the first wife gets the foremost position in the family, and she is known as *jik-mamung* or *jik-mongma*: the first name means principal wife and the second elephant-wife. Though the husband marries other girls, the former wives cannot leave him, and if in any case they do not like to stay with him, then they have to pay a *dai* (compensation) to the husband, and are free from the obligations of the marriage. The other wives

are known as *jik-gite* (slave wife), and they have always to obey the first wife in household affairs. Sometimes when the *nokrom*'s wife has lost every hope of bearing a child, then the *nokrom* is allowed to marry a girl of the same *mahari* as his former wife, or any of his own sisters-in-law, if there be any. In this case also the second wife is known as *jik-gite* and her position is inferior to that of the first wife, but her daughter inherits all the ancestral property as the *nokrom*-girl after the death of the first wife.

If any quarrel ensues between the wives of the *nokrom* and if any of them want to leave the household, the usual procedure for her in doing this is to summon the Village Council, which consists of the village headman and the village elders of the *mahari*. Here she puts forward her grievances and gets a divorce by paying a compensation of thirty or sixty rupees to the husband. But in the case of difference of opinion with the husband, two alternative courses are left. In one case she may leave him by paying a compensation, as may be decided by the village elders. In the other they may mutually arrange for divorce without paying any compensation. In the latter case also they have to summon the Village Council, in whose presence they relate their mutual consent to part with one another and obtain the Council's permission to be separated hereafter. After this both of them are free to marry again. *Divorce suits are in most cases brought by women.*

If any of the wives of the *nokrom* commits adultery, then the husband brings a suit against her before the Village Council, and if the accusation be true in the opinion of the Council then a compensation of thirty rupees is imposed on the girl's parents. But if the case is that the girl does not like to live with the husband, then a heavy compensation is to be paid to the *nokrom*, and he will have to renounce every claim on her.

The complication of the *nokrom* system rises to its extreme when the father-in-law of the *nokrom* dies. After his death the *nokrom* is bound to marry the mother-in-law, since she is the owner of the property and the household. If the *nokrom* refuses to marry her, then his claim and control over the property and the household will cease, and he will have to run a separate household of his own without getting any allowance for it from his father-in-law's property. In this case the *nokrom*'s mother-in-law is free to marry



any other man, and the daughter born of that marriage becomes the heiress of the property. But if she has no chance of bearing children, then she may adopt a girl of her own *mahari*, and this girl inherits the ancestral home and the property after her death. On the other hand, if the *nokrom* marries his mother-in-law (that is, his mother's brother's wife), and if she is capable of bearing children, then quarrels may ensue between the mother and the daughter. The daughter generally dislikes the approach of her mother to the husband, and if the husband and the mother actually lie in the same compartment of the house, the quarrel becomes imminent. In their dispute the husband has to defer to his mother-in-law, even if he dislikes her, for she is the owner of all properties. In this case the daughter has no alternative but to summon the Village Council for separation from her husband without paying any compensation, and this is granted to her. In most cases, however, the mother-in-law becomes very old, and what usually happens in that case is that a false marriage rite is performed with the son-in-law, and she lives happily in the family and helps her daughter in every possible way without demanding any sexual privilege from him.

When the *nokrom* dies, his wife is allowed to

marry again, but subject to some restrictions. Firstly, she is bound to marry the younger brother of her husband if he is still unmarried; and, secondly, if all her husband's brothers are married, then she will have to marry a man of her husband's *mahari*.

Generally, the widow of the *nokrom* is not allowed to marry a man who is married. But in exceptional cases, when a suitable bridegroom for the *nokrom's* wife is not available within the *mahari*, then either the *nokrom's* elder or younger brother is allowed to marry her. In this case a dual control of the house is maintained. In household affairs the first wife reigns supreme, and as to the rights to the property the second wife (who was the wife of the *nokrom*) gets a predominant position. Here the first wife's position is superior, though she has no control over the property, and she is known as *jik-mamung*, and the second wife has to submit to her though she has got greater control over the property, and she is known as *jik-gite*. In case of a quarrel between these two, any of them may summon the Village Council and get her divorce by paying a sum of money to the husband as compensation. The husband generally supports the *nokrom*-girl for the sake of her property.

#### SOME BLOOD GAMES OF THE SINHALESE.

By P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A. (Discussed by the writer before the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, on September 11th, 1933.)

**55** Blood games were once an important feature in the pastimes of the Sinhalese, but to-day little is known about them. Man fought man with or without weapons and animals were pitted against rivals of either similar or different species. Several establishments were devoted to the training of both man and beast and were under the supervision of the *Gajayake nilamé* (Chief Officer of the Royal Household).

*Malla pora* (prize fighting) combined wrestling with blows from either the fist, edge of the open hand, or with the elbows or knees, as well as jabs with the extended fingers to vital centres; in some contests, a *Thorama* (Cestus) was worn on one hand.

Much-weathered stone-carvings on the Lion Bath at Mihintale and on the Vata Dhāgē at Polonnaruwa prove that such contests were of ancient origin, while the more recent seventeenth-

century carving (Fig. 1) well depicts the *thorama*. The *Ude* (trousers) are also very different from the modern Sinhalese garb, and a plaid-like contrivance affords some protection against blows below the belt. All these carvings show the contestants with long hair tied into a knot, hence it is evident that the rules forbade seizing it, although wrestling was permitted. Court-wrestlers were kept by several kings and pitted against challengers, chiefly from India, and these contests are commemorated in verse. Gladiatorial displays, which were often to the death, have been recorded by early English writers, but nothing is known of the procedure followed. At that time the country was divided into two martial clans, the *Maruvalliyai* and the *Sudhaliyai*. According to tradition any one who demanded recognition of superior prowess over his fellows was pitted against an opponent who had made a similar claim. The two met before



the King in an arena dug in the sand, termed *Ura lindha* (a term applied to a pot-hole which entraps wild boar, *Ura*, which enter to drink). The contestants wore loin-cloths and fought with sword and shield for one hour, and the survivor would be rewarded with the title of *Pannikki-rala* and with lands sufficient to maintain this rank. Such combats were termed *Ura lindhai angan kettima*, and appear to have been originally staged



P.D.

FIG. 1. A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CARVING FROM AMBAKKE TEMPLE NEAR KANDY.

at the royal command for the entertainment of the Court.

As in most countries, animal fights have existed from the earliest times. A Siamese inscription translated by Low (*Journ. As. Soc., Bengal*, xvii, 1848) mentions that about 321 B.C. two Sinhalese princes killed each other in a dispute over a cock-fight; while Abou Zeid, the Arab, who visited Ceylon in 851 A.D., writes that the Sinhalese fought their game cocks in 'cangiar-like' steel blades. After losing everything else the gamblers would, as forfeit, either chop off their finger joints or retain blazing rags upon their bodies until all smelt their burning flesh. (Renaudet's translation, 1646.) The

sport, although illegal, still survives, but to-day the birds are fought with their natural spurs.

Bulls, buffaloes, and rams in combat are also mentioned by early English writers, as are elephants in single encounter in the great square at Kandy. The contest of one herd of wild elephants with another, probably the most stupendous combat display staged by man, has never been recorded, and it was only in 1933 that the writer drew attention to it at the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon. Tradition affirms that the men of Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces drove up one herd, the men of Kengallai near Kandy, the other. Bets were laid on the herd which would enter the *Gal Indikedda* (stone enclosure) first, and on the result of the combat itself. Overlooking this stone parapet was the royal pavilion from where the king watched the combat. Later he rewarded the men whose herd entered the arena first, as well as the drivers of the winning herd. This spectacle is said to have been staged during the *Acurudhu mangallai* or New Year festivities.

Other pastimes were hawking, and coursing with hounds, and Dutch reports of the seventeenth century describe the Sinhalese falconers as equal to the best from Persia, and letters from the king instruct the Dutch to obtain for him dogs from China and the Philippines, as well as game-cocks from Siam. The royal aviary and establishment of falcons was known as the *Kurullan Madura*, the kennels as *Sunakeyan Madura*.

Many of these sports show considerable affinity to some prevalent in India north of the Cauvery. For example, *cestus* fighting (known as *Vajra mushti*) and elephant combat, survive at the Courts of Hyderabad and Baroda; and gladiatorial displays were not unknown from the Indus valley. Animal combats also display some affinities of interest. The change of method in cockfighting since Abou Zeid's day is noteworthy. Most countries, even today, fight game-fowl in artificial spurs; but in India the *Asil*-cock is fought divested of even its natural weapons. Ram fights are definitely of Indian origin, the fighters being all imported, for sheep do not thrive in Ceylon; but it is remarkable that while *Zebu* or humped bulls are not often fought in India, the sport is as popular with the Sinhalese as with the Malays.



America: North.

Gaskin.

**CATLIN'S 'NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN PORTFOLIO.'** By L. J. P. Gaskin, F.L.A., Horniman Museum. Hon. Advisory Librarian to the Royal Anthropological Institute.

**56** The interest of the *North American Indian Portfolio* lies in the fact that it was published in London in 1844 during the period when Catlin's Indian Gallery was on exhibition at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. Fresh from his travels amongst the North American Indians, Catlin had at this time the necessary leisure to complete, with all the artistic ability at his command, what must always be considered a *chef d'œuvre* of ethnographical art. In addition, owing to the great care which he took to ensure the veracity of his pictures, and his unique opportunities of seeing the Indians before 'the approach and certain progress of civilization,' his views of Indian life are probably the most truthful ever presented to the public.

I have therefore examined copies of the *Portfolio* in the British Museum Library, the Horniman Museum Library, and by the courtesy of Mr. Francis Edwards, several copies at his premises in Marylebone. In addition, the librarians of the Bodleian, Trinity College, Dublin, the Library of Congress, The American Museum of Natural History, and the Bureau of American Ethnology have very kindly sent me collations of the copies in their respective libraries.

Since the *Portfolio* was first published in London in 1844, and since at that time the Copyright Act<sup>1</sup> was in force, it may be reasonably assumed that the British Museum copies are of the first and original issue. There are two copies in the Museum; one is dated and contains 25 uncoloured lithographs, the other is undated and contains 31 coloured lithographs.

The collation of the first copy is:—CATLIN'S/ NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN/ PORTFOLIO./ HUNTING SCENES AND AMUSEMENTS/ OF THE/ ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND PRAIRIES/ OF AMERICA./ FROM DRAWINGS AND NOTES OF THE AUTHOR./ MADE DURING EIGHT YEARS' TRAVEL AMONGST/ FORTY-EIGHT OF THE WILDEST AND MOST REMOTE TRIBES OF SAVAGES IN NORTH AMERICA./ GEO. CATLIN./ EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY, LONDON./ 1844. C. and J. Adlard, Printers. Bartholomew Close, London. Folio: 20 pages of descriptive letterpress, and 25 uncoloured lithographs [57 cm. by 41 cm.].

The numbers and titles of the plates are:— (1) North American Indians; (2) Buffalo bull, grazing; (3) Wild horses, at play; (4) Catching the wild horse; (5) Buffalo hunt, chase; (6) Buffalo hunt, chase; (7) Buffalo hunt, chase; (8) Buffalo dance; (9) Buffalo hunt, surround; (10) Buffalo hunt, white wolves attacking a buffalo bull; (11) Buffalo hunt, approaching in a ravine; (12) Buffalo hunt, chasing back; (13) Buffalo hunt, under the white wolf skin; (14) The snow-shoe dance; (15) Buffalo hunt, on snow shoes; (16) Wounded buffalo bull; (17) Dying buffalo bull, in snow drift; (18) The bear dance; (19) Attacking the grizzly bear; (20) Antelope shooting; (21) Ball players; (22) Ball-play dance; (23) Ball play; (24) Archery of the Mandans; (25) Wi-Jun-Jon. Copies of the *Portfolio* having a similar collation are to be found in the Bodleian Library, and in the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, and the American Museum of Natural History.

In the second British Museum copy with the 31 coloured lithographs, the title is identical with that of the copy quoted; but it has no date, and the printer's name has been omitted. In addition, it lacks the 20 pages of descriptive letterpress, said not to have been supplied with copies having the additional number of plates. The extra plates are not numbered, and, though each bears the appropriate legend, the order in which they are arranged must be regarded as arbitrary. They are [26] Joe-O-Sot; [27] Mah-To-Toh-Pa. The Mandan chief; [28] O-Jib-Be-Ways; [29] Buffalo(e) hunting; [30] The War dance; [31] The Scalp dance.

The *Portfolio* was published privately by subscription, and the subscription list was a distinguished one, including Queen Victoria and the Emperor of Russia, Nicholas I. who was so pleased with the work that he presented Catlin with a gold snuff-box. The price on publication was £5 5s. for copies with uncoloured plates, and £8 8s. for copies with coloured plates, and it is said that the plates were coloured by the hand of the artist himself. Catlin kept the sale of the *Portfolio* in his own hands,<sup>2</sup> and he seems to have issued some copies with variant title-pages.

<sup>1</sup> Esdaile, A.: *A student's manual of bibliography*, 1931, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Donaldson, T.: "The George Catlin Indian Gallery." In *Report of the United States National Museum*, 1885, p. 734.



and without the descriptive letterpress. For instance, the copy in the Horniman Museum Library has no letterpress, and an abbreviated title: CATLIN'S/ NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN/ PORTFOLIO/ HUNTING SCENES/ AND/ AMUSEMENTS/ FROM DRAWINGS BY THE AUTHOR/ MADE DURING EIGHT YEARS' TRAVEL AMONGST/ FORTY-EIGHT

German editions have been reported; but I have not seen them.

Figure 1 is a reproduction of No. 21 in the *Portfolio*, and attention is directed to the first figure with the waving tail. His name is *Tul-Lock-Chish-Ko* (He who drinks the juice of the stone), and he was generally considered to be the



FIG. 1. NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN BALL-PLAYERS.

OF THE WILDEST AND MOST REMOTE TRIBES OF SAVAGES/ IN NORTH AMERICA/ GEO. CATLIN/ EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY, LONDON/ 1844/ the words underlined being in red type. I have seen other titles similar to this one.

According to Miner,<sup>3</sup> whose bibliography was edited by Miss Elizabeth Catlin, daughter of the artist, copies of the *Portfolio* having the imprint "New York, James Ackerman, 1845" exist,<sup>4</sup> and

best ball-player among the Choctaw Indians. The description of the tail is taken from the letterpress of the *Portfolio*. "Each player has " attached to his waist, and rising out from under " his ornamented belt, a waving tail, made of white " horse-hair of vari-coloured quills—or of long " prairie grass (as in plate) which are lifted and " gracefully float in the air as the players " run."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Miner: "George Catlin: A short memoir of " the man, with an annotated bibliography of his writings." In *The Literary Collector*, Nos. 1 and 3, 1901.

<sup>4</sup> There are two such copies in the Library of Congress. Each contains 25 numbered coloured plates, identical with those recorded in the British Museum copy. There are 16 pages of descriptive letterpress.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note the similarity between these tails, and those worn by the Ao Nagas of Assam. The Naga tail has been described by Mills in his book *The Ao Nagas*, p. 53, plate facing p. 52. "One type [of tail] " curves down and out from the basket and is ornamented with a deep fringe of black human hair with " a narrow fringe of red goat's hair above it."



## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**57** *Mana. Summary of a communication presented by Dr. H. Ian Hogbin, Tuesday, 11 February.* Codrington's account of the Melanesians is an acknowledged classic in anthropology.

But his material was collected more than 50 years ago, and in the interval anthropologists have developed a field technique. A visit to-day therefore to Codrington's area need not necessarily be expected to be unprofitable. Indeed, as his work has given rise to a mass of speculation by theorists a re-analysis is perhaps imperative. Dr. Hogbin has recently carried out field work in the Solomon Islands, and in this communication gave an account of the religious and magical concepts associated with the spiritual power Codrington called 'mana.'

The Solomon Islands natives believe that the spirits of their ancestors, and also certain other spirits which were never at any time human beings, are possessed of spiritual power by means of which they can cause the affairs of men to prosper. They therefore endeavour to secure the goodwill of the spirits to ensure that this power will be used on their behalf. This they do by offering them sacrifices. The effect of these sacrifices is to generate a feeling of optimism. Assured that they will succeed in all they undertake, the natives strive their utmost, and not infrequently do in fact succeed, in spite of their very inadequate appliances and limited scientific knowledge.

The concept of spiritual power also reinforces the moral code, for certain actions, notably failure to carry out obligations to relatives, are supposed to result in the withdrawal of the favour of the ancestors. As a result the wrongdoer becomes ill, and may die.

Magic and this spiritual power are never confused. Magic is conceived as a human force by means of which man can coerce the spirits into exerting their supernatural power.

[This communication, together with additional material on the same subject, will be published under the title 'Mana' in *Oceania*, vol. vi.]

**58** *Nyakyusa Law: A theoretical introduction to the study of Law in East Africa. Summary of a communication presented by Mr. Godfrey Wilson, 25 February, 1936.*

Why do people generally follow, in their own actions, the same customs as their friends and neighbours? Because, firstly, there is among the members of any social group a certain agreement, or community of purpose; and, secondly, because of the operation of sanctions. Sanctions are of various kinds; legal action is one of them. Sanctions are

not necessarily conservative forces. They sanction the recurrence of human actions in a customary form, but the customary pattern of action which is sanctioned may itself be changed, either by common agreement, or under the compulsion of new conditions.

Legal action may be defined as any customary action on the part of some member or members of a social group, one or more of whom are not directly and personally concerned in the issue, to keep in existence a pattern of social conformity, to ensure the recurrence of human actions in the customary form which obtains in that particular group. Legal action is itself institutional, that is to say, it recurs regularly and it involves a joint action of two or more members of society; it is legal in its deliberate purpose, which is the preservation of social order, and in its form, it always includes the action of some person not directly concerned in the issue. The particular rules of action which are effectively sanctioned in this way are laws. But legal action is not always effective.

Among the Nyakyusa social conformity in action is recurrently attacked, sometimes by actions which break it, sometimes by situations which threaten it; and many of these actions and situations stimulate legal action. 'The officers of the law,' that is the people outside the issue who join in the action, are not by any means all of them possessed of any general political authority. Those who are first appealed to are friends, neighbours and relatives and their action is often a sufficient guarantee of the law. But, if it is not, then the political authorities are appealed to as well.

Legal action can be distinguished from the religious sanctions of morality, from the economic sanctions of common policy, and from the force which resides in the praise and blame of a man's fellows. But to distinguish these different sanctions is not to say that they do not in fact normally operate together.

The specific force of legal action resides in two things: firstly in the authority of those who act, and, secondly, in a general agreement with their action in each particular case. It is also necessary that the operation of the other sanctions of order should not conflict with the action which is taken. As a matter of fact those who take legal action often deliberately invoke these other sanctions in order to increase the force of their own action.

**59** *Human Biology. Observations and Results from a European Tour in the Interests of Standardization. A communication presented by Miss M. L. Tildesley, 6 February, will be printed later.*

## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

### THE BRITISH SPELEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

**60** This Association was recently formed under the Presidency of Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S., with the objects of co-ordinating the results of cave excavations and explorations in this

country, and of acting as a central bureau from which information pertaining to all aspects of Speleology might be distributed and through which those interested in cave work might become acquainted with others of similar or kindred interests.



At the present time the Association is preparing for publication a bibliography of papers on British Speleology and a catalogue of all prehistoric artefacts which have been excavated from the caves of this country and which are now scattered throughout various public and private museums. Steps are also being taken to organize a survey of the more important underground rivers and streams with a view to assisting the Inland Water Survey Committee of the Ministry of Health. An investigation into the relative advantages of gravitational and electrical geophysical methods for detecting caves is also being undertaken.

These and other objectives are to be carried out by the various associated societies, clubs, museums, libraries, etc., and by the individual members of the Association.

One of the most important functions of the Association is the organization, each year, of a Speleological Conference. Through the kind hospitality of the Mayor and Corporation, the Confer-

ence is to be held this year at Buxton from Friday, 24 July, to Monday, 27 July, inclusive. The Conference, attendance at which is free to members of the Association, will also be open on payment of five shillings to all persons interested in Speleology.

Societies, clubs, museums, libraries and similar bodies on payment of one guinea become associated institutions and may appoint two representatives who will enjoy all the privileges of ordinary membership. On payment of half a guinea per annum or five guineas any person may become an Ordinary Member or a Life Member respectively.

Further particulars of the Association and of the Buxton Conference may be obtained from the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. G. H. Hill, The Museum, Buxton. Mr. E. Simpson, of Austwick, via Lancaster, is the Honorary Recorder of the Association, and to him should be forwarded all technical matters pertaining to the exploration and excavation of caves.

L. S. PALMER,

Chairman of Council.

## OBITUARY.

**Sir Temistocle Zammit, C.M.G., D.Litt., 1864—  
2 November, 1935.**

**61** Born and educated in Malta as a physician, Zammit made his mark early in the investigation of malaria, discovering the parasite which communicates 'Malta fever' in the blood of the native goats. Meanwhile, in 1905 he had become professor of chemistry in the university, and rose to be its Rector from 1920 to 1926, and member of the Council of Government and Executive Council of Malta.

But Zammit was even better known as the chief explorer of the prehistoric monuments of the

Maltese Islands. In 1903 he succeeded Dr. Carnana, an antiquary of an older school, as Curator of the Valletta Museum, and completely transformed both its collections and our knowledge of the remarkable early fortunes of the islands. His own excavations were admirably conducted, and fully published in two volumes, *Malta, the Island and its History* (1926), and *The Neolithic Temples of Tarxien* (1930). His great local knowledge and boundless enthusiasm were unstintedly at the disposal of colleagues in many lands, and his genial personality will be greatly missed by visitors to his beloved Museum.

J. L. M.

## REVIEWS

### ARCHÆOLOGY

**Paleolithic Man and the Nile Valley in Nubia and Upper Egypt.** By K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell (*University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications*). Cambridge University Press, 1933. Price 28s. 6d.

**62** The title of this book is a little misleading, for it is mainly a geological study of the late tertiary and the quaternary deposits of the region dealt with, and deals not at all with Paleolithic man, although, of course, it does deal with his stone age cultures.

As an account of the geological investigations carried out by the authors and of the deductions which they make from their discoveries this work is excellent. The descriptions are lucid and well illustrated, but I cannot but doubt if many geologists will agree to accept the interpretations which the authors sometimes draw from the facts observed and recorded. That, however, is not a matter for discussion here. It would require too much space.

One very obvious shortcoming from the point of view, both of the geologist and of the prehistorian, is that we are not given any kind of definition of what is regarded as the dividing line between Pliocene and Pleistocene, although by inference we are led to conclude that the discovery of stone implements of Chellean type in a deposit would lead to a classification of that deposit as Pleistocene.

The use of the terms Lower Paleolithic age, Chellean age, etc., is unfortunate. It is, indeed, surprising to find geologists suggesting that a particular culture type necessarily implies a particular age.

The 100 ft. terrace is described as of 'Lower Paleolithic age,' and we are told that its culture is essentially Chellean. Further, that none of the older and higher terraces than this one contain any stone implements, and that they are, therefore, pre-Paleolithic in age, and Plio-Pleistocene in date.

Actually, if one may judge from the illustrations, the unrolled implements of the 100-foot terrace



strongly suggest that the culture of man was by then a long way removed from its earliest infancy, and one cannot help wondering whether the failure to find stone implements in terraces older and higher than the 100-foot terrace may not have been due to failure to recognize early forms rather than to the absence of such forms. We are told that the period covered by the term 'Plio-Pleistocene stage' is longer than the whole of the Pleistocene. The reviewer cannot help feeling that most of what is thus described as Plio-Pleistocene is what other workers would have called Lower Pleistocene, and he will be much surprised if it is not found eventually to contain early human cultures including Pre-Chellean and the first stages of the Chellean.

The authors have some very interesting facts which will help to add to our knowledge of the general African problem of the Pluvial periods.

They point out that the whole period during which the 100-foot and 50-foot terraces were formed and which contain respectively Chellean and Acheulean cultures was wet or pluvial, and on page 31 they show that after that, the 'rainfall was greatly reduced.' This is, of course, exactly what we know happened in Kenya and elsewhere in Africa. We might even go further and suggest that what they call the Plio-Pleistocene terraces, together with the 100-foot and 50-foot terraces, correspond to the period in East Africa up to the end of the Kamasian Pluvial.

We are also told that the Nile at first essentially and primarily gained its water supply from the Red Sea Hills, and on page 35 that 'the Mousterian period marked the birth of the modern Nile.' This again is just what we would expect from the East African evidence, for it was after the Kamasian Pluvial that earth movements opened up the present sources of the Nile at Jinja.

Another interesting fact is that, although there is evidence of 'drying up locally' the water supply of the Nile remained remarkably active at the time of the close of the Kamasian pluvial. This was doubtless due to the fact that the local desiccation was compensated for by the great increase in the Nile watershed due to the faulting further south. The authors do not like to admit any fresh pluvial period after the time of the drying up which followed the 50-foot terrace with its Acheulean culture stage. That there was another pluvial period seems, however, to be certain from their own evidence. How else can the following facts be explained?

(1) There are river gravels at 68-73 feet containing rolled Mousterian and Middle Sebilian tools (i.e., a later gravel at a much higher level than the 50-foot terrace); (2) that silts with late Upper Paleolithic tools occur to all levels up to and including the 100-foot terrace.

On page 57 the authors dismiss an explanation of certain phenomena which was put forward by Dr. Ball on the ground that it is 'an unparalleled late date (quaternary) for faulting.' Faulting in post 50-foot terrace times is not unparalleled, and is exactly what one would expect in an area which

is, after all, not so very far removed from the Rift Valley area.

The chapter on Human Industries contains many interesting statements not the least of which is the recording of the presence of a 'Clactonian culture' stage in Egypt; and the authors are to be congratulated on their insistence upon illustrating specimens at exact size. Such terms as 'Sebilian age,' and still worse 'Neocanthropic type' when referring to a tool, make one shudder, and show what happens when a geologist undertakes the work of a prehistorian. The discussion upon the Sebilian culture and its stages is very unconvincing and many of the objects illustrated as *Implements* in Plates XL, XLI and XLII to show the evolution of this culture are (judging from the illustrations which are bad) not implements at all, but merely waste flakes.

Finally, one may point out that much that has been described as Mousterian would have been better called Levalloisian. If read carefully and critically, this volume contains a great deal of very valuable information, but it is emphatically not a book to give to students as a text book of the culture sequence of the area.

L. S. B. LEAKEY.

**The Rock-Engravings of Griqualand West and Bechuanaland, South Africa.** By M. Wilman. Deighton Bell and Co, Ltd., Cambridge, and McGregor Memorial Museum, Kimberley, 1933. xii + 77 pp., plates 70. Price 25s. net.

This volume is the outcome of twenty-four years' field-work. The seventy beautifully produced plates include views of a few sites and of a few characteristic landscapes; the great majority, however, are photographs of the engravings and enable us to realize how these vary in subject, style, and quality.

The writer divides the engravings into four main classes. Class I includes the 'classical' engravings. These are generally the oldest and include representations of human beings, animals, plants, stellar objects, and geometrical patterns, which may occur singly or grouped into compositions. They are found on scattered blocks or on outcrops of rock, generally in places that have a wide outlook and that are not far from water. Class II consists of engravings that are imitations of, or appear to have been suggested by, those of Class I. In Class III are placed mainly representations of animal and human spoors. Class IV consists of recent scribbles made by Europeans and natives.

Miss Wilman describes the various techniques, and points to the great variety in the quality of the engravings, which may be due to differences of individual ability; it does not necessarily follow that the crudest are the oldest. The styles merge into one another, and the work appears to have been carried on continuously, more or less to the present day.

A folding map at the end shows the distribution of all the sites where engravings are known, except those in Rhodesia. They are concentrated mainly in Griqualand West and in the western parts of the Orange Free State, especially in the basins of the Vaal and Riet rivers, but there is an important outlier in Damarsland.

The age of the engravings cannot be definitely established. Miss Wilman is right in regarding the degree to which the rocks are weathered as a very uncertain guide. Over fifty kinds of animals are represented, and some of these, like the quagga and white rhinoceros, no longer occur in the Kalahari; but there are no engravings of



mastodons or of the large equine animals whose teeth are found fossil in the older Vaal gravels; nor is there an engraving of *Bubalus Bainsi*. On the other hand, there are practically no representations of domesticated animals; an engraving of a 'Cape' sheep is poor and probably of late date. Miss Wilman is inclined to ascribe the 'classical' engravings to a time before the Hottentots arrived in the country, and to think that an age of about six hundred years, as suggested by Holub, may be a reasonable one. There are some curious omissions from the list of animals; there are no engravings of such antelopes as the klipspringer and steenbok, which still live in the region.

The human figures of the engravings are like those of the paintings, and appear to represent Bushmen. It would seem that there may have been two groups of Bushmen, the one practising mainly engraving, and the other mainly painting. The motive for the engravings is uncertain. The author does not think many of them can be explained by sympathetic magic. She admits the possibility of art for art's sake, and she suggests that some of the designs may have been intended to give information, to delimit hunting grounds or to indicate the position of water, though, of course, we cannot tell what message, if any, most of the engravings were intended to convey.

Miss Wilman deserves the thanks of anthropologists for a very beautiful book and for concentrating into such a small space the results of many years of careful work. For such a book the price is very low.

R. U. SAYCE.

**Das urzeitliche Bergbaugebiet von Mühlbach-Bischofshofen (Materialien zur Urgeschichte Österreichs, Heft 6).** By K. Zachocke and E. Preuschen. Vienna: Anthropologische Gesellschaft.

The prehistoric workings in the Salzberg province are probably the best known pre-Roman copper mines in the world. They may well have been the most important mines in Europe about 1000 B.C., if the present authors' estimate of their output at 20,000 metric tons be correct. Former descriptions of the workings have come from the pens of professional archaeologists; that under review is written by mining engineers in the employ of the Mitterberg Copper Mining Co. Not only have these, by their expert practical knowledge, been able to correct many of the ideas current among prehistorians as to the technical processes employed by the ancient miners; they have also gathered together and edited the original descriptions of the old workings from the Company's records, identified and excavated several prehistoric smelting sites and supplemented their experiences by quotations from obscure technical periodicals that describe primitive processes of mining and smelting. By adding a lengthy glossary, fully explaining the technical terms employed, they have made the present volume a veritable text-book on ancient copper-mining and a monumental tribute to Prof. R. Much to whom it is dedicated as a *Festschrift*.

Space forbids an attempt to recapitulate the new information here collected and lucidly presented. The early miners proceeded by cuts and galleries rather than shafts. As a cut advanced, a gallery on its floor would be timbered over and the refuse heaped on the roof to provide a basis for the fires by which the rock roof was split, to facilitate draught and to minimize the dangers of a collapse. All the mineral won must have been brought to the surface; the breaking up and selection of the ore must have taken place at the mouth of the mine, not at the working face. The ancient metallurgists could handle unoxidized ores—sulphides;

Zachocke and Preuschen have found and describe here the ovens in which such ore was roasted prior to reduction as well as the smelting furnaces wherein raw copper was produced. The authors add logically argued and well-documented speculations as to the number of men employed in the exploitation of the Mitterberg Main Lode—180 souls—the duration of the operations there—200 to 300 years—and the consumption of timber—19 acres of forest annually for mining alone, quite apart from the requirements of the smelters. They argue that servile labour was most probably employed and that operations were only suspended because the accessible ores had all been used up.

In an appendix Pittioni discusses the archaeological data for determining the beginning and end of operations all over the field; mining may have begun in the Early Bronze Age, judging by finds from Götschenberg, some 2½ miles east of the Main Lode, but the relics from an actual miner's house on the Einödtberg, still farther east, belong to the West Alpine urnfield culture of the Late Bronze Age, and come down well into the Hallstatt period. In another appendix Firbas shows by pollen-analysis that a refuse dump from workings on the Main Lode belongs to the Sub-boreal phase, and, incidentally, that the change over to a Sub-atlantic regime was a gradual, not a catastrophic, deterioration.

The book with these and other appendices, and many maps, diagrams and photographs is a first-class contribution to our knowledge of the metallurgy and economics of prehistoric Europe. It is of such general interest that an English translation would be eminently desirable.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

**European Civilization: Vol. II. Rome and Christendom. Vol. III. The Middle Ages.** Edited by Edward Eyre. Oxford University Press, 1935. Vol. II: viii + 696 pp., maps and illustrations, 15s. Vol. III: 888 pp., 15 maps, 18s.

Vol. II, sub-titled 'Rome and Christendom,' gives first a survey of Italy and Rome to the end of the republic. Origins are here sketched in a little over 30 pages, with only the briefest note on the period before the Villanovans, but what appears a fair summary of the Iron Age sequences leading towards acceptance of tradition. The prehistoric era in the West is reviewed with characteristic sweep and vigour by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler in 116 pages gathered, on the whole, around the discussion of the Celtic-speaking peoples, their origins and spread. The megalithic tombs of many types are for him places of collective or communal burial, that notion and a certain skill in moving large stones are the general features of megaliths; in other respects there are many and diverse regional developments that do, indeed, give grounds for arguments concerning intercourse between certain areas, but give no ground for the idea of a race of megalith-builders imposing a new cult far and wide. This sensible attitude is only partly helped by the analogy of the regional types of Christian Churches in areas of diverse secular culture. The esparto grass theory of the origin of the beaker pot is favoured, with Spain's interior, accordingly, as the original home; this is the usual view, but is surely open to much question. In dealing with the last millenium B.C. more might have been made of the influences of climatic change. Dr. Wheeler's notes on the pre-Roman fortress towns of the West is naturally of special interest. The views given as to Celtic speech and its spread are mainly in agreement with those of Kraft and of Hubert. There is doubt about pre-Roman movements following the Danube, especially *via* the Iron Gates. The study of the Roman Empire valuably subordinates the chronicling of events



to the attempt to survey conditions and their evolution. This is followed by an interesting review of the rise of Christianity to power. The volume includes 15 maps.

Vol. III is sub-titled 'The Middle Ages.' It surveys the development of Mediaeval Europe, the Middle Ages and Ancient and Mediaeval Philosophy. The chronicler is much in evidence in these contributions,

and one wishes again and again that the attempt had rather been made to give us what would have been much fresher, namely, an up-to-date version of, say, Guizot's *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe*. The section of Philosophy by Prof. Taylor is of great interest to the layman, but it would be impossible to attempt a review in a few lines.

H. J. F.

## AFRICA.

**The Yao Tribe: their Culture and Education.** By Benno Heckel. **Arts and Crafts in the Training of Bemba Youth.** By Griffith Quick. *University of London Institute of Education Studies and Reports—No. 4. Oxford University Press, 1935. Price 2s.*

This report is another welcome proof that missionaries in Africa are beginning to turn their attention to native education in the widest sense, that is to say, to the study of the mechanism by which not only knowledge and skills are handed on from generation to generation, but also tribal tradition and moral codes. Father Heckel gives a short summary of Yao culture, dealing, in the following order, with technology, cultivation, food supply, native medicine, fables, religion, infant care, legal codes, marriage and initiation. He gives us some interesting new information, particularly on the subject of initiation among the Yao, but it is difficult in so short a space to give a composite picture of tribal life without a more systematic arrangement of the material than Father Heckel has given us. His final section deals with education and is written from an interesting point of view. But the author, while making a valuable attempt to see the function of various seemingly meaningless native customs, seems to me to rationalize many native practices to an unwarrantable extent. Such sentences as "open-air life, physical exercises in dancing, in games, in walks, and the like play, work, bathing, swimming (if there is opportunity), cleanliness, sanitary dress, wholesome food, occasional hygienic instructions and medical assistance and the like, keep the children in good health," implies a theoretical basis behind education which it would be hard to recognize in actual fact. But Father Heckel has made a contribution on useful and suggestive lines, and we hope that he will follow this report with a detailed account of the educational agencies to which the Yao child is subject at different periods of its life—a field on which we urgently need information.

Mr. Quick provides a useful account of the training of Bemba youth in arts and crafts; his description of house-building, and the attention he gives to native theory as well as practice being particularly interesting. From my own knowledge of the customs of the same tribe, I should be inclined to say that the author gives an impression of too systematic a scheme of education in his description of well-marked stages of proficiency recognized by the Babemba, i.e., the Bafundi, the Balinga and the Batunka (experts, those ordinarily proficient and dullards). He also describes the formal education given by parents to their children, but it would be interesting if he could supplement this with details on the all-important influence of the older groups of children on the younger. But there are valuable ideas in both Mr. Quick's and Father Heckel's contributions which should be the beginning of a series of similar studies for which anthropologists will be very deeply indebted to African educationalists.

A. I. R.

**Man of Africa.** By Samuel Y. Ntara. Translated by T. Cullen Young. Foreword by Professor Julian Huxley. London: Religious Tract Society, 1934. Price 3s. 6d.

In 1933 this story was awarded the prize for Bio-

graphy, offered by the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures. Its author is a Christian teacher in Nyasaland, and it has been translated from its original Nyanja by the Rev. T. Cullen Young. It is the simple story of many a modern African's life. The background is the tribal life of a matrilineal society, little disturbed by outside influence, and then the wider and more eventful scene of the Rhodesian labour market. Its hero, Nthondo, passes through a phase of rebellion against the control of his mother and maternal uncle; then lured by adventure he leaves for the vague, unknown Halele (Bulawayo or Salisbury). Ill-luck, crime and sickness dog him; he experiences a new world, of Europeans, hospitals, prisons, and *sukulus*. His conversion follows upon his return to his own village, and he settles down to the life of chief in his uncle's stead.

An African outlook is clear on every page. The selection of incident is always governed by the story's natural development, yet for the English reader it always has a turn that is original and unexpected. Its characters are marked by the inconsequent logic, ready generosity, every-day courtesy, and genial unauthoritarian treatment of the young by the old, which is the note of African life. The English translation, perhaps deliberately, adds to this attractive atmosphere by a hint of awkwardness which invests the characters with a kind of solemn quaintness, at once serious and ingenuous.

The appeal of the book lies in its slow, cumulative movement, but one quotation gives an idea of its style, and draws in a few lines an unforgettable picture of a bush-school and of the Africans' sweet-tempered acceptance of incomprehensible rudiments:—

"Finally, he took a large sheet of paper, displayed it, and began to teach. He said, 'We call this A.' So everybody said, 'We call this A.' At this the teacher said, 'You are getting all mixed up; don't think that.' 'I said, 'We call this A' for you. You must not repeat 'We call this A'; but when I say, 'A,' then you must say 'A.' Do you understand?' 'Yes, we'll do it that way,' they agreed. And so they began to get hold of A.E.I.O.U."

G. W.

**Les Races de l'Afrique.** Par C. G. Seligman. Paris, 1935. 8vo. 224 pp., illustrated.

This is a French translation of Dr. Seligman's well-known 'Races of Africa,' with an introduction by Dr. Georges Montandon, some well-chosen photographs of racial types, an enlarged bibliography, and a few minor corrections. Its appearance is well-deserved testimony to the scientific value and popular appeal of the original, which, as Dr. Montandon does well to insist, covers much more than the physical races which are the exponents of the cultures of Africa.

J. L. M.

**The Folklore of Morocco.** By Françoise Ley. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1935. 8vo. 275 pp., illustrated. Price 12s. 6d.

It appears that the Moors have all the superstitions of the Arabs, and a good many more besides; it would in fact be difficult to find any people more completely ridden by superstition than the



Moslems and Jews of Morocco, as they appear in Dr. Legey's pages.

The superstitions connected with rain are particularly interesting. When rain is needed a kind of hockey is played, and the rain is then expected to come as quickly as the ball rolls along (p. 53). A drought is often a result of the Sultan's sins. Should he persist in them, he exposes himself to death within the year (p. 54). A bride on her wedding-day is possessed of great power. If she can be induced to soak her veil with her tears, it will ensure a plentiful rainfall for the year. Grain which has been placed on her lap is mixed with the combings of her hair and sown to ensure abundant crops (pp. 55, 195). A corn merchant who is overstocked can cause a drought by ploughing a furrow in a cemetery, with a miniature plough drawn by a cat and dog, and sowing salt (p. 58).

Incubation at the tombs of saints is common (p. 220).

**Human Ecology.** By J. W. Bews, M.A., D.Sc. *Introd., General the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, P.C., C.H., F.R.S.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1935. xii + 312 pp. 15s.

The author has proceeded from his experience in plant ecology to what he rightly explains is the far more complex matter of human ecology, and his book, after an interesting introduction by General Smuts, attempts to show that all through such studies the Le Play-Geddes trilogy of 'place, work, folk' must be kept in mind if we are not to wander into by-paths of abstraction. Needless to say, this makes generalizations difficult, and there are few enough in this book. Human ecology is still in its infancy, and it may well be we shall need a new scheme of authorship adapted to its extreme complexity. The reviewer feels that this book, like more than one of his own, could have been greatly improved had it been read out to colleagues able to suggest betterments. But it would be a poor service merely to enumerate points needing retreatment, it is better to welcome Principal Bews' interest and his insistence on interweaving environment, function and people. For the sake of those who are too facile determinists, we hope he will revise an early chapter so as to show that in almost every region of any size one may find, in almost identical environments, different peoples living in different ways; they have

the shoulder-blade of a sheep is used for divination (p. 101), and at Marakesh there is an annual scapegoat, or rather scape-camel (p. 263).

The book is full of interest; it is simply and clearly written and quite free from verbiage. The only criticism to be made is that the transliteration from the Arabic is unsystematic and sometimes incorrect. The translation is adequate.

RAGLAN.

**Tramping through Africa.** By W. J. W. Roome. A. & C. Black, Ltd. 15s.

In this book, Mr. Roome describes his wanderings in Africa. He has travelled for a great many years and has seen most parts of the Continent. Those who know places visited by the author may be interested to note his impressions of them, but ethnologists will not benefit by reading his account.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

## GENERAL.

selected different features for utilization. In a reprint could names be corrected? van Gennep, Schapera, Huntington, Stoddard, Dorothy Davison, W. H. R. Rivers.

H. J. F.

**Cimmerii, or Eurasians and their Future.** By Cedric Dover. Calcutta. 1919. Sm. 8eo. 65 pp. Price Rs. 1.8.

After tracing the historical and economic stages by which Eurasians as a distinct element in Indian society came into being and took their actual place in it, Mr. Dover discusses current misconceptions (as he thinks them to be) about Eurasian physique and mentality. He sees no reason why the Eurasians should not play a more independent and conspicuous part in Indian society. For anthropological data he relies on the unfinished inquiries of Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, and does not attempt to supplement them. Yet he appears to have held scientific posts in India and Malaya.

J. L. M.

**Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits** (cf. MAN, 1936, 41) the name of Professor Seligman was inadvertently omitted from the list of those who took part in the Expedition.—Ed. MAN.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**Primitive Law.** (Cf. MAN, 1935, 48).

**74** SIR,—In MAN, 1935, 48, Professor Radcliffe-Brown affirms that "Professor Malinowski on 'occasions indulges in the amusement of 'setting up a straw-man for the pleasure of making 'fun of it and demolishing it. . . . On this occasion 'he labels him 'Radcliffe-Brown.' The occasion was an Introduction which I have written to Dr. Hogbin's book on *Law and Order in Polynesia*. I plead guilty to erecting a straw-man, and perhaps Professor Radcliffe-Brown is right in thinking that "The resemblance to 'the namesake is about as close as that of an effigy 'burnt on the fifth of November to the original Guy 'Fawkes." I plead guilty, for in the essay I described Professor Radcliffe-Brown as one of the "best informed" and theoretically most acute thinkers in social anthropology"; I speak of his contribution as a "brilliant 'article," and (on page xxxviii) I once more affirm the essential unity between my point of view and that of Professor Radcliffe-Brown. He, on the other hand, sums up my scientific work in the last sentence of his

letter by saying "the greater part of his statements are "commonplaces of social science, only made to appear "novel and profound by a novel and obscure use of "words." Professor Radcliffe-Brown also accuses me of what would not have been very commendable motives: " . . . in order that it (my theory of primitive law) "may be claimed as a discovery made by him in the "Trobriand Islands, Professor Malinowski has to "construct a straw-man anthropologist who is supposed "either to deny it or to be ignorant of it."

There seems to be no doubt that both Professor Radcliffe-Brown and myself construct straw-men or 'guys'; no doubt also we are both mistaken.

Emphatically and seriously, however, I cannot plead guilty of having ever attacked any of my colleagues with regard to his general scientific character, nor have I ever imputed to anyone underhand motives or belittled their work. In *Crime and Custom* (1926) and also in the introduction to Dr. Hogbin's book, I have criticized certain views and approaches to the subject after giving each time very full verbatim quotations.



Thus, in the Introduction I have, on page xxiii, extensively quoted some statements by Professor Radcliffe-Brown and criticized them adversely. This is not the place to repeat my criticisms or even to elaborate them. I hope to do this quite shortly with full documentation. I shall be able then, incidentally, to deal with the differences between Professor Radcliffe-Brown and myself.

Here I would like only quite briefly to correct some of the points on which Professor Radcliffe-Brown is mistaken. He says that "Professor Malinowski . . . seems to have a contempt for writers in jurisprudence" or, at least, for their views on law. Since I never expressed any feelings or sentiments, I do not know how my critic diagnoses that I have a feeling of contempt. If he were to glance again at page lxi of my Introduction, to which he refers, he would see that I do not criticize, still less express any 'contempt' for, lawyers or writers on jurisprudence. I merely assess "the present state of juridical theories in the Science of Man." I speak about the neglect of primitive law by anthropologists. I also criticize specifically and exclusively the German School of the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, the works of which I describe, however, as "most important compendia of comparative ethnological scholarship." My only stricture is that their work "lacks . . . one thing: that is the fundamental concept of where law or the dynamism of custom 'resides in primitive societies.' Is this an expression of 'contempt'?" On page xxix he might have found, however, an explicit reference to the name of Professor van Vollenhoven, to the work of the International Institute for the Study of Customary Law, to the Leyden School, with full acknowledgments of their importance. I do not think any careful reader of my essay would find in it any expression of contempt or wholesale criticism for writers on jurisprudence. Professor Radcliffe-Brown has obviously had only a cursory glance at my essay which misled him into describing me as 'that sort of guy' who would be so foolish as to indulge in wholesale 'contempt' for other branches of learning.

Another point on which Professor Radcliffe-Brown is certainly mistaken refers to sanctions. He refers somewhat flippantly to my theory of primitive sanctions. He then proceeds to say: "I should have supposed that 'this elementary truth was well known to all students of social science.' And it is here that my critic accuses me of the minor felony that, in order to claim the principle of defining various usages by sanction as 'a discovery made . . . in the Trobriand Islands,' I distort the views of my colleagues."

The best proof that this was not claimed as a Trobriand discovery or manufactured in the Trobriands, is that I stated my theory as early as 1913 from my second-hand research on the Australian Aborigines. My conclusion there was that " . . . different types of social norms 'have different kinds of collective sanctions and that 'we may suitably classify the norms and regulations according to the kind of sanction they enjoy. . . . We can agree to call such norms Legal, which enjoy an organized, more or less regulated and active social sanction.'" (*The Family Among the Australian Aborigines*, 1913, page 11.)

It is very gratifying to me that Professor Radcliffe-Brown tells us twenty years later that "this is an 'elementary truth.'" It is even more gratifying to me to see that he has adopted this point of view almost completely in his articles on 'Law' and 'Sanctions' in the *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*. But were he to glance at the article on 'Law (Primitive)' in *Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (vii, 1914) he would find that Hartland, a leading authority on Anthropology and

Primitive Law, after a specific reference to my point of view, and after a discussion occupying five columns rejects the 'truism.' "For these reasons we cannot 'regard the test of sanction as satisfactory'" (page 811). "It is, in fact, impossible, if we have regard to the 'test of sanctions only, to draw a strict line between 'the three categories into which Malinowski divides 'the social norms as known in Australia'" (page 809). Thus my 'truism' of 1913 was perhaps not such an 'elementary truth' then, nor could it have been claimed as a Trobriand discovery.

For the present I should like only to insist that the proof of all anthropological theory is in the field-work which it produces. From this point of view I still cannot help thinking that the treatment given to marriage law in the *Sexual Life of Savages* (1929), or to the rules of incest in *Sex and Repression* (1927), or to land tenure in *Coral Gardens* (1935), or to the law of property and contract in *Argonauts* (1922), or *Crime and Custom* (1926), is not a more repetition of 'common-places' rigged up in 'obscure' terminology. And here I would like to suggest that the approach through a detailed institutional analysis—which is the essence of my theory of primitive law—is more useful than some such statements as that some natives or other have "a 'sort of communism,'" or an "economic life" which though it "approaches to a sort of communism, is yet "based on a notion of private property" or "customs "which result in an approach to communism."

With all this, I wish to repeat that in many respects Professor Radcliffe-Brown's method and his theories are germane to mine. Only as regards his treatment of primitive law and primitive economies I have ventured to disagree with him on certain specific points. A purely technical discussion of these in my opinion would have been more profitable than personalities and recriminations.

B. MALINOWSKI.

#### Fish in Mesopotamian 'Flood' Deposits.

**75** **Str.**—During the excavations conducted by the Field Museum—Oxford University Expedition to Kish, Iraq, the floor of a small room was found to be covered with a thick deposit of fish bones. This room formed part of the 'Flood stratum' attributed to the beginning of the third millennium before our era. A section of this deposit was excavated for analytical study. The material consisted of fragments, varying in thickness from about  $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, broken out of a stratum of hardened clay. On one flat surface were numerous spines and bones of small fishes. In some of the clay fragments the fish remains were exceedingly numerous, forming a compact layer about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick, distinguishable from the rest of the clay by its dark-brown colour. The large quantity of the bones indicates that a great number of fishes in the small body of water died from some sudden catastrophic cause. The bones belong to small fishes, under 10 inches in length, and comprise vertebrae, fin-spines, small pharyngeal bones (bones bearing teeth found in the throat of some fishes) and small, isolated bones of the skeleton. Conspicuous among the remains are the pharyngeal bones of fishes belonging to the family Cyprinidae, a family with many genera, of which the carp, gold-fish and minnows may be mentioned as examples. According to Dr. W. K. Gregory in this locality the most common genera are the small carps, *Barbus* and *Capota*. The identifications were very kindly made by Dr. Louis Hussakof.

It would be interesting to ascertain whether other archaeological expeditions in the Near East have obtained ichthyological specimens.

HENRY FIELD.  
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.







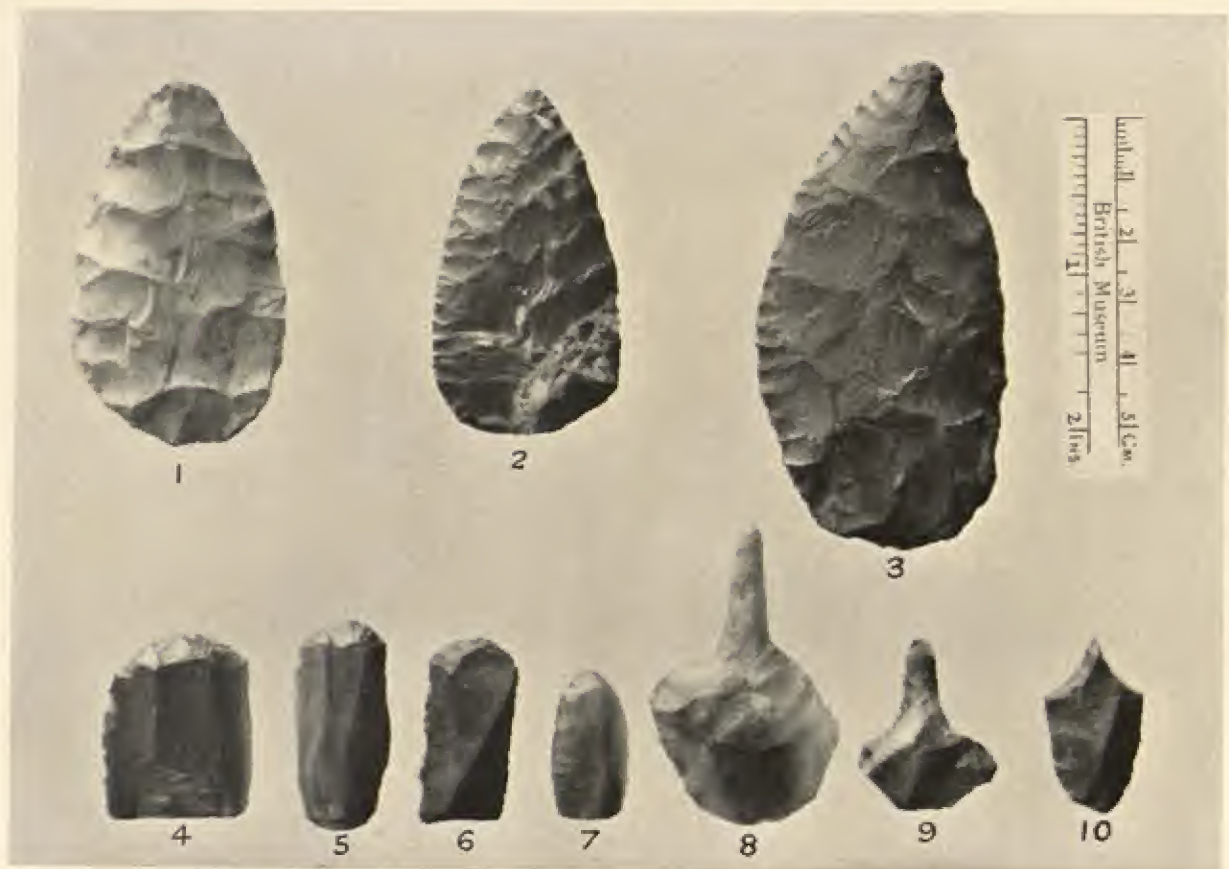


FIG. 1. SIDE-SCRAPERS OR KNIVES, END-SCRAPERS, AND BORERS, OF CHERT.



FIG. 2. ARROW-HEADS AND POINTS. NOS. 1 AND 3-11, CHALCEDONY; NO. 2, CHERT.

# STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM PATAGONIA.



# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

America : South.

With Plate D.

Elvins.

STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM PATAGONIA. *By O. C. Elvins.*

**76** Patagonia is the popular, but unofficial, name of the vast South American region which tapers from the River Colorado down to the extreme south of South America, and is bounded on the West by the Cordillera of the Andes and on the East by the Atlantic Ocean. The region is treeless and sterile in the extreme excepting the slopes of the Cordillera and some settled valleys, and consists mainly of plains of arid shingle which support only stunted prickly bushes.

Along the coast are a few ports depending chiefly on the export of wool, and amongst these is the Argentine oil port of Comodoro Rivadavia, within twenty miles radius of which were found the stone implements to be described later. Comodoro Rivadavia is situated in the Gulf of San Jorge, about 900 miles south of Buenos Aires and 700 miles north of the Straits of Magellan. Here the climate is temperate, winter and summer temperatures being about the same as those for the corresponding seasons in England with the difference that the atmosphere is extremely dry and invariably in motion.

The wind, which blows mainly from West to East, is the outstanding feature of Patagonia, and is said to attain an average velocity of 30 kilometres per hour.

Apart from the temporary population engaged in the oil industry, this region is now sparsely populated by sheep farmers and their dependants. However, at the time of the Spanish conquest of South America, it was inhabited by the Tehuelche Indians, about whom comparatively little is



FIG. 3. STONE ARROW-HEADS FROM PATAGONIA.

known except that they were of more than ordinary height, the males averaging about 6 ft. The early Spaniards were highly impressed by their physique and the Spanish word 'patagon' (big foot) has given rise to the present popular name for that large tract of country. Early navigators observed that these natives made use of the bow and arrow as well as darts, but Florentino Ameghino states that they abandoned the use of these arms after 1620, that is at the time the horse was introduced into the country. The Stone Age thus terminated in Patagonia about that time, and innumerable traces of the industry of that period, including stone implements and pottery, are to be found. The stone implements were made from the universal Stone Age raw material, amorphous silica in its various forms, and the pottery from clay. Although no specimens of pottery are illustrated, it may be of interest to include a few observations on that subject. Whole, or nearly whole, vessels are extremely rare, but small fragments are abundant and are generally engraved with straight lines inclined at various angles, and with different geometrical figures. The local clay, of which there are enormous deposits, especially of bentonite (an absorbent fusible clay similar in some respects to fuller's earth and to North American absorbent clay), is practically devoid of plasticity and crude pottery made from it is very fragile, a fact which accounts for the rare survival of whole vessels.



As regards the actual sites where implements were found near Comodoro Rivadavia, these were mainly along the sea coast (between Solano Bay and Caleta Olivia), where the land level is just above high tide, that is where there is easy access to the beach and where any fresh water would flow down to the sea. These seaside sites, reminiscent of those of Oronsay and Denmark, are characterized by kitchen refuse in the form of shells of molluscs, particularly clam shells, beds of which, several feet thick, are found in some places, incidentally now serving as a minor source of lime. Skeletons have been found amongst the shells almost at sea level and buried in the sitting position so characteristic of South America from Peru to the South, but more usually, burial places, or 'chenques,' are found on hill tops. The implements were found on the surface amongst the discarded shells, and the strong winds continually uncover fresh ones so that arrow point collecting is one of the sports of Patagonia. It is also a source of profit as a fairly good specimen has a local market value of about one shilling; local jewellers mount them in gold in the form of brooches for female adornment, which reminds one of the ancient superstition that they were endowed with supernatural attributes (*cf.* 'A Guide to Antiquities of the Stone Age,' British Museum, 3rd edition, p. 109). It is notable that no bows, bow strings or shafts are to be found despite the dryness of the climate.

About 100 kilometres roughly west of Comodoro Rivadavia is the lake Colhue Huapi, a large expanse of fresh water some 45 kilometres long and 11 wide, drained from its eastern extremity by the River Chico. All round the lake and along the bed of the River Chico it is possible to find flint flakes and worked implements, lying on the surface of the sand and hard clay. The specimens from this locality were found close to the source of the river near Mr. Williams's farmhouse, a few hundred yards from the lake itself. The actual site is a natural amphitheatre about half a kilometre in diameter and the hard clay floor is practically covered with flint flakes, guanaco bones and worked implements. Most of the arrow points have been already collected from there, but by searching for an hour or so it is possible to pick up one or two good specimens. The site was evidently a factory.

#### South America.

Braunholtz.

**NOTE ON THE STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM PATAGONIA.** By H. J. Braunholtz. *British Museum.* (With Plate D).

**77** The standard work on the Stone Age of Patagonia by Prof. Félix Outes<sup>1</sup> is so fully illustrated that any further contribution to the subject may perhaps be thought superfluous. Nevertheless, a collection of stone implements from near Comodoro Rivadavia, recently given to the British Museum by Mr. O. C. Elvins, contains some unusual variants of the normal types, as well as some exceptionally fine specimens of the latter, which seem worth placing on record as a footnote to Outes' work.

The normal form of the broad-tanged arrow-head is shown in figure 3, Nos. 1 and 2.

It seems doubtful whether the usual designation of these as arrow-heads is in all cases correct. The great breadth of the tang would render it more suitable for attachment to a spear shaft. Moreover, in recent times the Fuegians were still using a similar type of stone tool as a knife, the broad tang being attached to a short wooden handle of the same breadth as the tang. A specimen, collected in 1855, is in the British Museum.

Plate D, Fig. 2, Nos. 1 to 4, show successive stages in the reduction of the arrow-head point, which probably resulted from the breaking and retrimming of the original point of the normal form. In No. 4 the point is so reduced in size that it can hardly have been effective as a piercing instrument, and may possibly have changed its function. Another form possibly resulting from the breaking of the point and subsequent retrimming is shown in figure 3, No. 3. Blunt-headed arrows of this kind may have been used for killing or stunning birds so as not to damage their plumage through bleeding.

This form, however, seems too common to be treated as accidental, and several authorities regard it as a scraper. The same type occurs frequently in the United States, and W. K. Moorehead classes them as "notched or shouldered scrapers."<sup>2</sup>

Outes, however, on the ground that they show no evidence of abrasion through use as scrapers, prefers to explain them as instruments for

<sup>1</sup> Félix F. Outes, *La Edad de la Piedra en Patagonia*. (Buenos Aires, 1905.)

<sup>2</sup> *The Stone Age in North America* (1911), Vol. I, p. 198, figs. 187 and 193.



splitting bones to extract the marrow.<sup>3</sup> Baldwin Spencer, who was given some of them at Santa Cruz, states: "I can't find out exactly what they are. They were given to me as unfinished arrow-heads that had been thrown away, but I doubt if this be true."<sup>4</sup> Their true function is evidently still open to discussion.

The specimen illustrated here seems unsuitable for scraping, as the edge is both sharp and wavy; but it shows a certain amount of "battering" through use.

It is a peculiar fact that hollow or notched scrapers are almost entirely absent from North and South American collections, although one would expect them to be useful for trimming wooden arrow or spear shafts. I should like to suggest that the concave bases of some of these arrow-heads might well have been used as scrapers before hafting, or, in cases like Fig. 2, No. 4, after they had ceased to be serviceable as arrow-heads.

Plate D, Fig. 2, No. 6, is an exceptionally good specimen of an arrow-head with deeply serrated edges. Unfortunately the left-hand basal corner has been broken. Plate D, Fig. 2, Nos. 8-10, of translucent chalcedony, are remarkably fine specimens both in form and quality of retouch,

and are of extreme thinness. In Plate D, Fig. 1, the side-scrapers or knives (as Outes calls them) (Nos. 1-3), end-scrapers (Nos. 4-7), and borers (Nos. 8-9) are all fairly typical. But Fig. 1, No. 10, and Fig. 2, Nos. 5 and 11, are unusual forms of a boring, or possibly of an engraving tool, though technologically they cannot be classed as burins in the proper sense. The last two specimens are made on long straight-sided flakes, No. 5 being trapezoidal and No. 11 triangular in cross-section, with flat undersurface. Outes illustrates a similar specimen (Fig. 57), and describes it as a perforator.

The material of all these artifacts is either chert or chalcedony. The details of the flaking are sufficiently clear in the plate to obviate the need of much description. The underside of the end-scrapers is a plain bulbar surface. Occasionally the scraping end coincides with the bulb, but the reverse is usual. The arrow-heads are trimmed all over both surfaces; the side-scrapers are generally treated in the same way, though in the specimens made from chalcedony (which flakes more regularly and smoothly than the chert) the bulbar undersurface is often left plain.

The specimens illustrated here form only a small selection from a series of about 120 pieces.

#### Tibet.

**THE LAHOULIS OF WESTERN TIBET.** *By the Rev. Walter Asboe, Kyelang, Kangra District, North India.*

**78** The Lahoulis living in Western Tibet are a Tibetan-speaking race. They are of Mongolian origin, and possess the characteristic features and build of that race.

During the course of the past hundred years, owing to political changes, and the consequent contact with peoples of Northern India, there has grown up a strange admixture of Tibetan and Aryan customs, so that the task of the anthropologist to determine which customs are purely Tibetan is not always an easy one.

The Lahoulis have for many years mixed freely with the Aryan peoples of Kulu and Chamba, with the result that many Hindu rites and customs have been introduced.

Since Lahoul came under the administration of the British Government, the Lahoulis have become increasingly progressive in their ideas, and certainly more enlightened than their Tibetan

compatriots on the highlands and interior of Tibet.

The real Tibetan regards the Lahouli as a Mon, a race of people inhabiting a neighbouring State called Kulu, in the North of India; though for the most part he speaks Tibetan, together with a free use of his own dialect. This appellation, however, is often meant and used by the Tibetan of Western Tibet to connote Hindus in general.

The Lahouli's custom of erecting commemorative tablets of stone for a deceased person is observed nowadays in Manchat, a district in Lahoul. This is thought to date back to Mundari times.

(Philological research has given rise to the supposition that the Mundaris, whose home is said to have been near Calcutta, must have penetrated the frontiers of Tibet about 2000 B.C.)

These commemorative stones are to be found

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.* pp. 371-373, where the whole matter is discussed in detail.

<sup>4</sup> *Spencer's Last Journey*, ed. R. R. Marett and T. K. Penniman (1931), pp. 52 and 53.



on the roadside near every village, and in the temples. Some of them are quite plain, whilst others are carved so as to represent human figures. Others, too, have a sculpture of a deceased person in relief. Kept within the precincts of some of the temples are commemorative tablets on which are carved figures of ten or more persons in a row.

Dr. Francke, in his *History of Western Tibet*, says: "On making special enquiry, the natives told me that at regular periods all the rich families who had lost a member through death had to combine and give a feast to the whole village. In recognition of this, a slab containing the never flattering portraits of the dead is placed in the village temple." Some of these slabs, especially those to be found in the temple at Trilognath, are of anthropological interest, for, as this distinguished scholar contends, they represent the Lahoulis in their original costume. This consisted of "a little frock reaching from the loins to the knees, and the chiefs (apparently) had a head-dress similar to that of the North American Indians."

Before the introduction of Buddhism to the country, the popular religion of the people was Phallus worship. The polished Phallus stone which is sprinkled with water may be seen here and there.

It is interesting to note that the characteristic head-dress of the Tibetan women in Ladakh, yet another district in Western Tibet, is fashioned in the form of a cobra. It reaches from the crown of the head almost to the buttocks, and is surmounted with turquoises of varying quality, and arranged in close lines from top to bottom. Other stones of no intrinsic value are also inserted here and there, but in the main the stones are turquoises. The head-dress, though in some cases becoming, is very heavy, and frequently causes the wearer discomfort in the way of a headache. In addition to this cobra-shaped head-dress, the women wear ear flaps made of black lamb's wool laced into the hair. These are never taken off except when the elaborate ceremony of hairdressing is performed. The origin of wearing the ear flaps is said to date back to ancient times, when a certain Queen of Ladakh, suffering severely from ear-ache, applied them as a remedial measure, and issued an edict to the effect that all her womenfolk should adopt this fashion, since when this custom has been maintained.

Buddhism entered Lahoul in the eighth century A.D., and Padma Sambhava, the patron saint, is highly revered in Lahoul, as the literature in the monasteries abundantly testifies.

#### South Africa.

#### THE SEASONAL MIGRATIONS OF THE CAPE HOTTENTOT. By P. W. Laidler.

Laidler.

**79** Being a pastoral people, easily accessible water was a greater necessity to the Hottentot than to the Bushman nation of hunters who lived upon game and who possessed no flocks or herds. Ownership of water was of greater importance to the Hottentot than was ownership of land, which was clearly shown by their behaviour to the Portuguese of the Exploration period. Diaz's men at Mossel Bay, for example, were welcome to come ashore, but were attacked when they attempted to fill their water-barrels. Van Meerhof,<sup>1</sup> in 1661, remarked upon the number of kraals in the Clanwilliam area, a well-watered district, and mentioned that they moved from pasture to pasture. Later travellers met them along the banks of the Olifants River, where water can always be obtained, but beyond that none was met until the slopes of the Kamiesberg, the

highest mountain in Namaqualand, and an oasis where there were a great number of kraals.

(*Namaroep*, a few miles north of Garies, is the Nama-Kraal; the *Kamies* is the Gathering place.) The presence of Hottentots between this and the Orange River depended upon the wetness of the season, and during years of little rain this area was, the natives told Paterson,<sup>2</sup> an uninhabited desert where neither man nor beast could exist because of the scarcity of water and grass. The chief Oedesoa, of the Copperberg district, told van der Stel that the Orange River country to the sea was inhabited by Namaquas (1685). According to Alexander,<sup>3</sup> the Namaquas dwelt mainly along the source of the Fish River; while along the eastern bank of the Orange River lived the Veldschoon wearers, and the Korannas. Thus it is seen that the Hottentot

<sup>1</sup> Liebbrandt's 'Precis of the Cape Archives,' Dagboek.

<sup>2</sup> Paterson: 'The Hottentots and Caffraria,' 1789.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander: 'An Expedition of Discovery.' London, 1838.



clung to the areas where water was readily obtained all the year round.

The first hint of the existence of seasonal migrations occurs in Nieuhof<sup>4</sup>: "But it is believed that the sun is no less held in honour than the moon. The former they always follow with their cattle as much as is necessary. When the sun is at the Tropic of Capricorn men are mostly in the Cape . . . at its south-western corner. When the sun passes the Equator and draws near the Tropic of Cancer, they then break up (the kraal) and trek thither." The Hottentots spend the summer in the Peninsula and the winter farther north at Saldanha Bay.

The area now known as the Rechtersveld, alongside and south of the Orange River, waterless in summer but where during the rains small supplies may be obtained from rock holes, was utilised by the Hottentots in winter (the rainy season), when the bush there was at its greenest, and when the Orange River, supplied by the summer rains of the inland plateau, was at its lowest. This yearly migration or trek, which helped to conserve the grass and bush, took a definite route along the river and through the veld. Starting from Springklip, the kraals moved in succession to Jackals Pits, TKwarass, Oograbis, Buchuberg (the last-named also known as the Twin Mountains, the Two Brothers of Alexander), thence when summer commenced they moved up to the mouth of the river towards Nabass, and finally to 'Kuboos, where they remained until the rains began.<sup>5</sup> These circular routes would not be interfered with by neighbours on other areas, for the difficulties met with in driving herds over the desert barriers between would be, during ordinary seasons, too great. In times of drought the gaps between these colonies would be considerably increased and inter-communication would cease, and their grazing areas become correspondingly restricted.

In 1855, at the period of this description,<sup>6</sup> the total Hottentot population of the Rechtersveld appears to have been: T'Kanghoop's people, 48; Lynx's people, 450; on the Stenkopf mission books, 950 families or total of 1,398 souls. This, however, did not debar the Bushman from attacking them when he was unsuccessful in the hunt and needed meat. What happened when neighbours trespassed is described by van Riebeeck in his Journal.<sup>1</sup> Three days after he landed, 1652, Herry's people attacked Gogosoas' men immediately they appeared.

In later years the Namaquas grew powerful, and from 1668 frequently attacked their neighbours when in need of cattle. In the fifth decade of the nineteenth century this sensible arrangement for summer and winter was found to interfere with mining prospects in Namaqualand, and Commander Nolloth<sup>6</sup> recommended its curtailment.

In the Khamies oasis there was also a seasonal movement. The mountain's top, about 5,000 feet above sea level, so cool and beautiful in summer, is bitterly cold and wet in winter; so, as the springs there always sufficed for the summer time, the Namas trekked as soon as winter appeared, to the lower levels at Kharkhams, and along the banks of the Spoeg, Buffels, Groen and other rivers to the west, whose sources lie in the Khamies Mountain. This ceased *circa* 1800.

The Cape seasonal migration ceased with the Hottentot war of van Riebeeck's days. This native (Hottentot) habit of conserving the grazing of one district for summer use the Boers have taken over and developed. The route taken by the latter is from the Wall House, or farm proper, built near the well or dam to a Hottentot mat hut in the open veld, *the uitleg plek* for the wet months when rain provides water; but in his distrustfulness of the native he will not allow the loose herding that should accompany the trek.

#### India.

**PRIMITIVE MEDICINE AT A MALABAR TEMPLE.** By A. Aiyappan, M.A., Government Museum, Madras: Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

**80** Near the Mullurkara railway station in the Cochin State of South India, there is a flat-topped hillock surmounted by a huge dolmen and covered with scrub jungle. A vertical wall of granite on one side of this hillock has a

niche about 10 ft. high hollowed in it, on the back wall of which, sculptured in medium relief, is a spirited figure of Siva as *Dakshināmūrti*, the teacher, in an unusual pose (Fig. 1). Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Assistant Superintendent of

<sup>4</sup> Nieuhof: 'Zee en Landreise,' 1682.

<sup>5</sup> Moffat: 'Journey from Little Namaqualand.' Reprint from *Roy. Geog. Journal*, 1858.

<sup>6</sup> Nolloth: 'Reports of the Copper Fields of Little Namaqualand.' Cape Town, 1855.



Archæology in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is of opinion that on iconographic grounds the sculpture could be referred to a period between the sixth and eighth centuries A.D. The deity is here represented as turning away from the two students who are at his feet. This interesting sculpture was accidentally discovered by some agrestic slaves who were collecting green manure for their master's field. When the bushes that covered the niche were



FIG. 1. SIVA AS DAKSHINAMURTI.

cleared, they found there the rotten remains of a wooden doorway for the niche. Without knowing what special manifestation of the deity was represented by the sculpture, people began worshipping it, low caste men first, and then high caste. The 'power' (Sakti) of the deity was felt to be so great that very soon the unheard-of hamlet became an important pilgrim centre; the niche was roofed over and a long hall and a platform were built in front of it, and also several rest-houses for pilgrims of all castes hailing from the various parts of Malabar.

One speciality about this shrine is that, though it is in the possession of Nayars, even

unapproachable castes are admitted into the temple and are allowed to make their offerings in person, without doing it through the intermediation of a priest. The reason for this departure from the ordinary custom may be that low caste men first began the worship here. I understand from the manager of the temple that there is a move now to consult the astrologer through whom, it is hoped, the deity will reveal his identity.

The chief anthropological interest here centres about the offerings made at the shrine. People are engaged in the task of making new tradition by compounding old ones together. They have discovered that *Dakshinamurti* could be successfully invoked for driving away pestering spirits. Just in front of the shrine under a sacred fig-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) one finds three stone images of spirits that made life rather difficult for a devotee who has them now placed under the control of this deity. To an unsophisticated Hindu his temple and deity are more hope-giving than a hospital, when he is confronted by disease. The largest number of offerings are for curative purposes. When only a limb is affected, figures of it in wood, granite, or pottery are offered; when the disease is more general, effigies of the entire body. Similar figures are offered of the farmers' live-stock when they ail. Cradles are offered for getting children; figures of breasts by young women who have them under-developed. Figures of animal pests that destroy crops, e.g., the boar, the rat, etc., are also offered for protection from them, the object of such offerings being only to draw the attention of the deity to the existence of such trouble.

Similar offerings of animal figures are placed in the dolmen on the top of the hillock.

One of the strangest of offerings that I saw was a wooden tortoise said to have been made in a case of stomach-ache. It is not easy to see the connection between the tortoise and this particular malady, except that it may perhaps be based on the belief that abdominal pain is very often caused by tumours which the  *vaidyas* (doctors) hold have a tortoise-like shape, and also are the cause of abortion and sterility in women.

All these offerings are placed in front of the sculptured image for a short while and then removed and heaped up by the side of the temple. Worshippers at the shrine make rice porridge and place it as *nivedyam* (food-offering) before the image.



Some of the richer people have had the figures of human feet carved on the granite slab flooring of the hall of the shrine as a mark of continued devotion.

The poorest pay a few *pice* to the manager of the temple to have a lamp lighted in their name before the image, an act of worship very much like the offering of candles in Roman Catholic churches.

#### Britain : Technology.

#### THE INVESTIGATION OF BRITISH AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS. *By R. U. Sayce.*

Sayce.

**81** As anthropologists we cannot recognise any temporal or spatial limits to our subject without doing it harm. Our study is man and his works, at all times and in all countries. It is not surprising, however, if some have been deterred by the magnitude of the task, and have accepted artificial limits to their work. In recent years a division has arisen between two groups of students. The one group has turned its attention to the ancient cultures of Europe and the British Isles; the other has been mainly interested in 'primitive' peoples who have hitherto, more or less, escaped economic development along European lines. The result is that there is now a tendency to think of anthropology and archaeology as though they were two distinct subjects, rivals for public interest and public assistance, and, what is still more misleading, to divide mankind into two classes, primitive man and civilised (? European) man, distinguished by fundamental and inherited differences. If we had given a little more thought to British culture of the last few centuries, and as it exists to-day, this division may not have arisen, and we should probably have been better qualified to interpret the cultures of other modern peoples.

Of late years we have paid little attention to the anthropology of our own country, except for a few anthropometric studies, which, we hope, will soon be increased. Much useful work has, of course, been done by the Folk-Lore Society, though it has been restricted to certain aspects of culture only, and there has been a singular lack of contact between that society and our own. Much remains to be attempted. There is still in this country nothing to compare with the great Scandinavian collections, illustrating the regional variety and development of implements, costumes and habitations. Yet we still have a rich field awaiting investigation.

The variation of our houses from one district to another is still obvious enough, but we might have thought that modern mass production would have succeeded by now in standardizing

the types of such implements as spades, forks, scythes, sickles, bill-hooks, and slashers. There are several reasons why this has not been done. Implements have to be adapted to many different conditions and purposes. Soils may be deep or shallow, sandy or clayey, full of boulders or free from them; spades, therefore, have to vary to meet the local requirements. Then, there must be many kinds of forks for cultivating the different crops, such as potatoes, bulbs, parsnips and carrots, and, again, for lifting different materials, such as beet, chaff, coke, broken stones, and manure. Bill-hooks and slashers must vary according to the nature of the work to which they are to be put; in some places they are required for cutting gorse-bushes, in others for trimming and pletching hedges, in different ways, and hedges vary greatly in their height and thickness, and in the bushes of which they are formed—thorn, hazel, beech, holly.

Another factor that varies locally is the way in which a tool is handled by its user, and this helps to explain differences in the shape and size of the handles. The long, straight-handled spade still used in parts of Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland is obviously adapted to methods different from those used in connection with the short-handled spade.

These simple tools were originally made by the local blacksmith, and a few still are. Some of the patterns are probably very old and may have survived from prehistoric times. In other cases the blacksmith has modified the tool to suit changes in local conditions connected with the introduction of a new crop or with new methods of cultivating an old one. This again has increased the number of local patterns.

Other types of tools have been brought into this country by foreign workmen. Dutch patterns are now being copied by English manufacturers for use by Dutch workmen, who are employed in getting peat in the Thorne district, near Manchester. Dutch patterns of forks, modified and improved in details, are used in the sugar-beet industry.



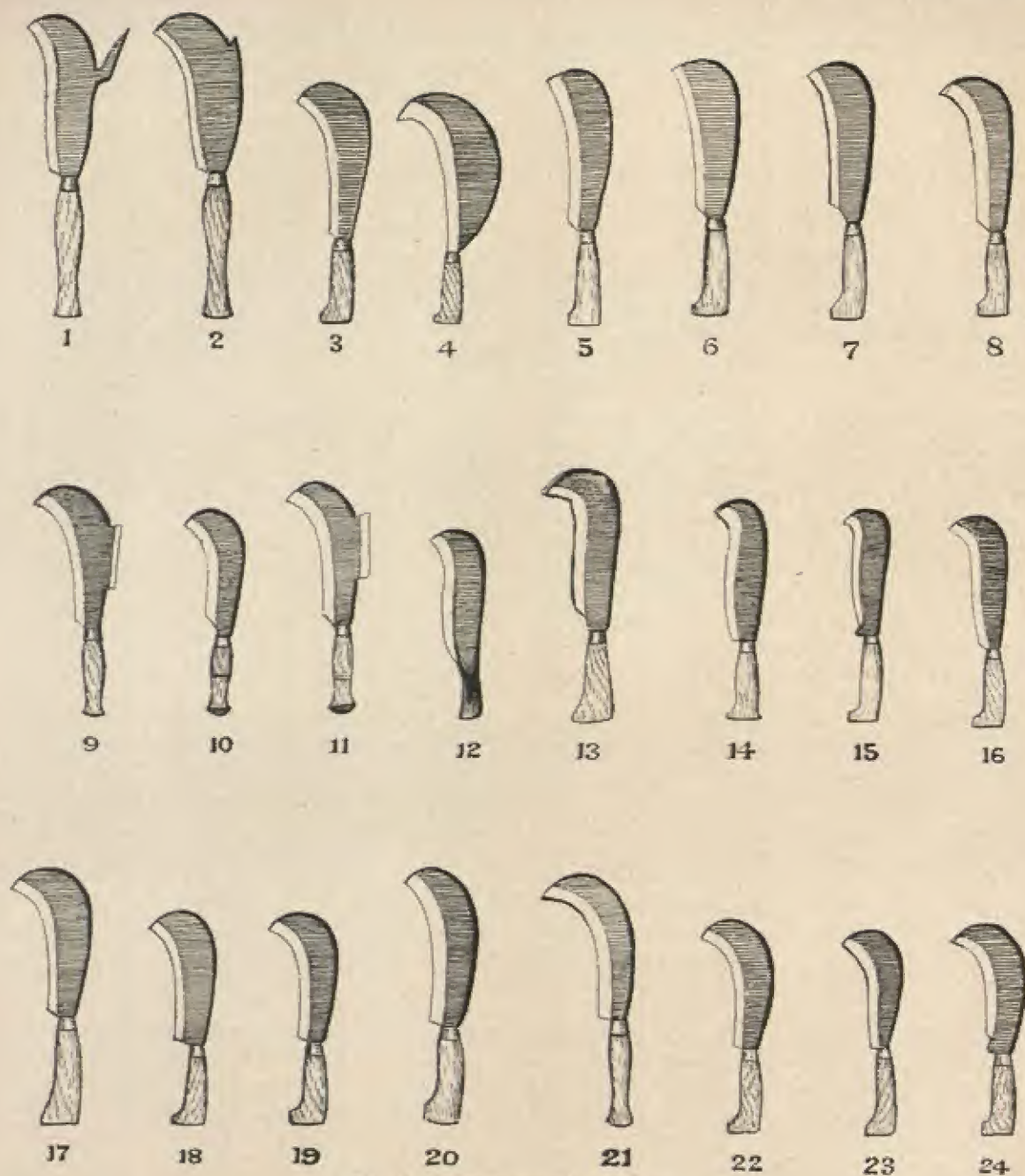


FIG. 1. SOME BRITISH BILL-HOOKS.

1. Aberayron.  
2. Llandilo.  
3. Pontypool.  
4. Monmouth.  
5. Hereford.  
6. Knighton.

7. Newtown  
(and Welshpool).  
8. Shropshire.  
9. Shropshire.  
10. Stafford.  
11. Stafford.  
12. Cheltenham.

13. Bristol.  
14. Bath.  
15. Tetbury.  
16. Clippenham.  
17. Oxford.  
18. Abingdon.

19. Faringdon.  
20. Berkshire.  
21. ? Berkshire.  
22. Swindon.  
23. Salisbury.  
24. Dorset.



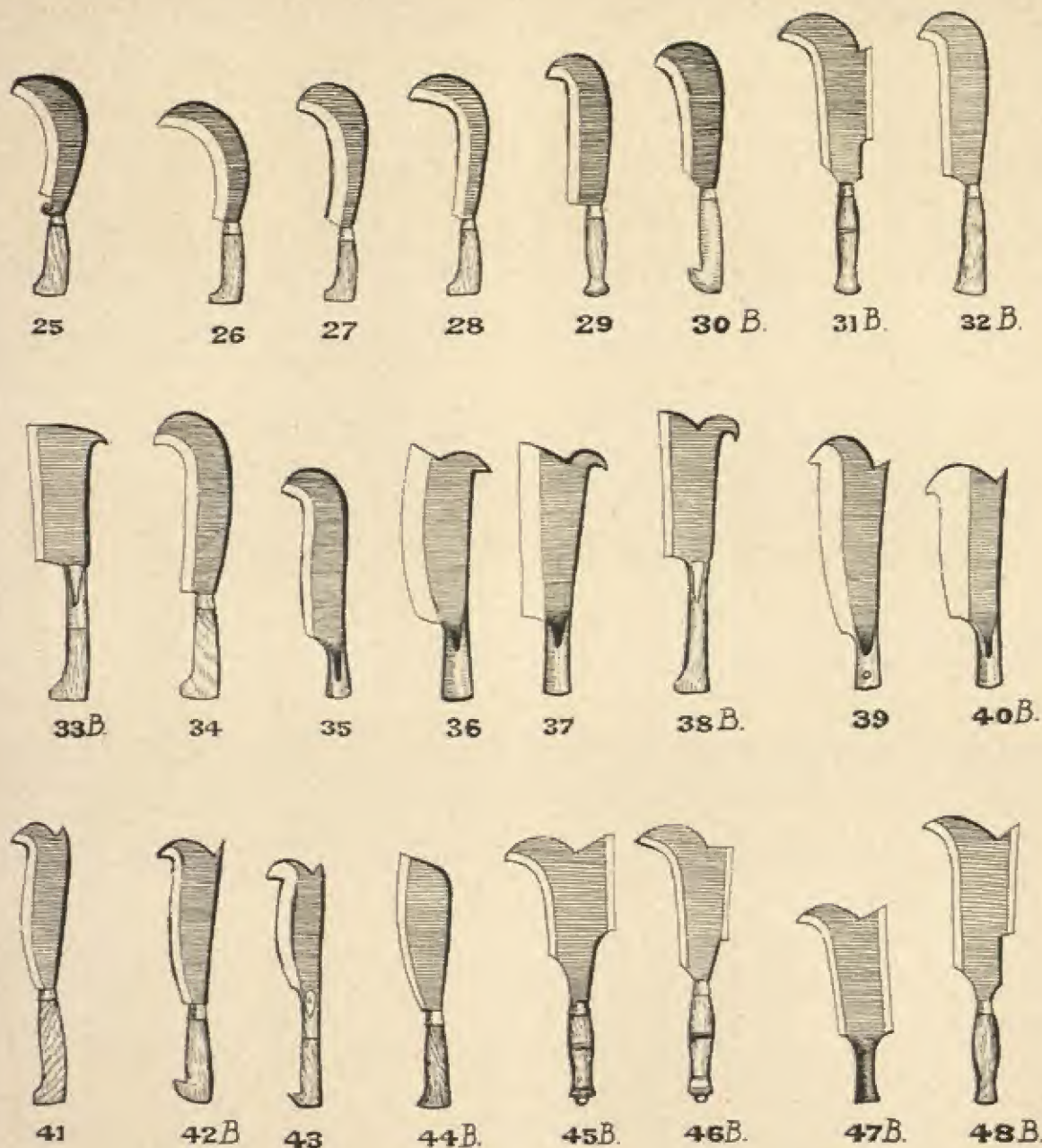


FIG. 1. SOME BRITISH BILL-HOOKS.

- |                               |                                |                           |                   |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 25. West of England.          | 31B. Kent (double edge).       | 37. Hertfordshire         | 42B. Norfolk.     |
| 26. Hampshire (faggoting).    | 32B. Kent (hop-pole).          | (straight edge).          | 43. Suffolk.      |
| 27. Hampshire (cutting down). | 33B. Kent (block).             | 38B. Hertford.            | 44B. Rutland.     |
| 28. Hampshire (hurdling).     | 34. Tenterden.                 | 39. Olley (Herts).        | 45B. Lincoln.     |
| 29. Kent.                     | 35. Uxbridge.                  | 40B. Olley (and Hitchen). | 46B. Nottingham.  |
| 30B. Kent (single edge).      | 36. Hertfordshire (full edge). | 41. Norfolk.              | 47B. Yorkshire.   |
|                               |                                |                           | 48B. Westmorland. |



Some kinds of tools go out of fashion and become extinct. Mr. W. H. Johnson has told me that within the last few years the demand for a peculiar, circular potato-scoop in the Wisbech district has ceased. The old eave-knife, used for trimming stacks, is also going out of use because farmers can no longer afford to devote much labour to mere appearances. Other types of implements that were once restricted to a small region have been popularized, and have spread into other regions. English patterns of scythes may now be found in Scotland, and Scottish patterns in England.

All these local differences in needs, usages, and traditions have produced an astonishing variety in the types of implements; and the variety is preserved by the stability of local needs, and by local conservatism. I have been told by ironmongers in Montgomeryshire and in Cambridge that they would find it impossible to sell any other than the local patterns. Consequently manufacturers are still forced to make a large number of different types. One manufacturer's catalogue, which shows photographs of over forty shapes of bill-hooks, says, "To show every pattern of Bill and Broom Hook we manufacture would make this section of the Catalogue very confusing, and we therefore show only those patterns that are most generally used in their various districts. We do, however, still make any pattern Hook, and if the pattern which customers have been in the habit of buying is not shown here, we shall still be pleased to supply them."

In order to find out whether these types were due to manufacturers' innovations becoming popularized in different districts, or whether they were old regional types, I wrote to the firm in question, Messrs. Isaac Nash & Sons, Ltd., Stourbridge, and I quote from their reply. "As far as we are aware, most of the patterns are

"local traditional patterns peculiar to their own district and there is no doubt most of them originated from local blacksmiths' patterns which have in course of time become commercialized." It will be seen that where illustrations of a regional pattern have been taken from the two catalogues, they show the same type.

I have thought it worth while to reproduce some sketches of regional types of bill-hooks. They were made for me by Mr. A. C. Himus, and are based upon the illustrations of two manufacturers' catalogues. Those with a simple number are taken from Messrs. Nash's catalogue, and those marked B, in addition to a number, from that of Messrs. Skinner & Johnson, Ranskill, near Doncaster. I should like to express my thanks to Messrs. Nash for their courtesy in giving me the information I asked for, and to Mr. W. H. Johnson, who most kindly came to see me in Cambridge and gave me the benefit of his knowledge and experience.

It is obvious that these notes can only serve as the briefest introduction to a big subject, which requires much more investigation. Somewhere a collection should be formed of the many kinds of our simpler agricultural implements, and it should not be more difficult to find a home for them than for any other ethnographical collection. Measured drawings and photographs could, of course, be more easily stored, and would be useful for comparison with examples from other countries. It would also be necessary to prepare maps showing the distribution of every particular pattern; and inquiries should be made among the farmers concerning the reasons for the peculiarities of the local shapes. All this would probably involve more work than one man could undertake. It is much to be desired that a number of investigators should co-operate and make a national survey, each being responsible for a limited region.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

### Anthropology and Theories of Native Development.

**82** Summary of a Communication presented by Miss L. P. Mair, M.A., Ph.D. 10 March, 1936.

This paper is an attempt to apply the results achieved so far by anthropological analysis to a study of the various current theories of native development in Africa.

The crucial opposition is between the theory that European institutions necessarily represent the best

available solution to all social problems, and the theory that such problems are better met by the gradual adaptation of institutions evolved in the native environment.

The first of these theories involves the belief that institutions devised by alien authorities, and brought into existence by their orders, will eventually become elements in the native culture as freely accepted by the people concerned as are their indigenous traditions.



It is suggested that successful cultural assimilation involves conditions not necessarily present in all cases where attempts have been made to impose such alien institutions; there must be a certain readiness for change, and further, the change, even if welcome to the native people, must not require consequential adjustments beyond their power.

The policy of development by gradual adaptation, if logically followed, would insist that these conditions were present before attempting to introduce new cultural elements. At present, however, it is open to criticism on the ground that in practice such innovations tend to be made on the basis of an arbitrary evaluation of native institutions.

**The Antiquity of Nordic Culture.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Professor V. Gordon Childe, M.A., F.S.A. 24 March, 1936.*

83

Since 1925 there has been a pronounced tendency among Continental authorities to reduce the dates for the beginnings of the Nordic Neolithic and Bronze Ages from before 3000 and 2000 B.C. respectively towards 2000 and 1500 B.C. respectively. On the one hand, it is now recognized that the high dates of Montelius, Kossinna and Schmidt had been produced by inflation—converting into distinct typological periods groups of relics which have no claim to such a status. On the other hand, new finds have established accurate synchronisms between phases of Nordic culture and those of adjacent regions. Copper axes and a dagger found with a vase of early Passage Grave type at Bygholm in Jutland show that the beginning of the Passage Grave phase coincides with the fully developed Copper Age of Iberia as represented in the corbelled tombs of Alcalá and Los Millares in which Montelius and Nordmann have sought the models for the passage graves themselves. And an imported British spear-head from a grave at Liesbüttel in Holstein shows that the beginnings of the Late Bronze Age in Britain fall within the limits of the first period of the native Bronze Age of the North (Montelius II). Incidentally, in Iberia and in Central Europe "Beakers" are too numerous and too varied to be taken as marking a point in time rather than a period.

The discovery of a hammer-headed pin from a deposit of the Passage Grave period in Lolland also establishes a synchronism between that period and the full Copper Age of South Russia. Finally, the overlap between the Passage Grave period and the Early Bronze Age of Central Europe (Aunjetitz) is generally admitted, and Broholm has established in detail the backwardness of the later Nordic Bronze Age as compared with the Hungarian.

Absolute dates still depend, however, on the establishment of limits for the Aunjetitz phase by the emergence of types, adopted there, in datable contexts in the Near East. The authors cited generally base their low dates for the Nordic cultures on a reduction of the date for the fall of Troy II towards 1600 B.C. Such a reduction is, however, incompatible both with the results of the American excavations at Troy itself and with those of

explorations in Anatolia. In reality, excavations during the last ten years have raised the upper limits of most types relied on for dating Aunjetitz towards 2700 B.C.; even ingot torques may go back beyond 2000 B.C. But of course the types in question survived in the Caucasus and elsewhere till 1100 B.C., so that limits must not be mistaken for synchronisms. On the other hand, the appearance in the Aegean towards 1200 B.C. of slashing swords may still be taken as giving a lower limit to the transition from Middle to Late Bronze Age in Central Europe. To fix when between 2600 and 1200 B.C. the Bronze Age should begin, we might now have recourse to the old comparison between the Mycenaean tholos tombs and those of Alcalá and so to the Nordic Passage graves.

Is not a period of about three centuries too short for the whole Early and Middle Bronze Ages? One guide to decide this would be to compile statistics of the number of interments in a district of a cemetery that might give some clue as to population-densities. The inadequate statistics available are not incompatible with a short chronology but cannot be regarded as decisive. On the other hand, de Geer's geochronology favours the higher limit, but is no more decisive since the most vital part of the record is still missing. A return to the longer chronology is therefore by no means excluded, but would only emphasize the slowness of progress in the North. The backwardness of the Nordic cultures as compared with Iberian, British, Danubian and Pontic is in any case irrefutably established.

**Human Biology. Observations and Results of a European Tour in the Interests of Standardization.** *Summary of a Communication by Miss M. L. Tildesley, 6 February, 1936; Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark in the Chair.*

84

The tour was undertaken by the speaker as part of her work as Chairman of the Committee for Standardization of Anthropological Techniques, which is a Permanent Committee set up by the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. This led her through thirteen countries in northern and middle Europe. Her main object was to interest anthropologists in the work of testing systematically the techniques they used, by the twofold measurement of a long series (whether of bones or of living individuals) by the same observer, and wherever possible by different observers, the results being then published. Almost all undertook to do work of this kind. Several proposed to compare similarly the results of two different methods of measuring the same character and to determine the relative accuracy of these methods. In addition, some Institutes had begun the more intensive study of single measurements. One had taken up the difficult problem of obtaining reliable measurements of auricular head-height, with comparative tests of the various methods now in use. Another was studying measurements in the median plane of the face. In another, tests were being made of methods of recording eye-colour: three observers independently were classifying the



eye-colour of the same individuals according to the glass-eye scale of Martin and the improved Schulz-Martin scale, by daylight and artificial light.

Work of this kind was necessary, not only to test how far figures obtained by different methods were comparable, but in order to provide the data on which to base decisions as to the technique to standardize for any given observation; and there was much to be done. It might be that a number of the measurements now frequently taken would have to be discarded as too unreliable. In Sweden the speaker learnt of tests already made of certain measurements that had been extensively used on living Swedes and Lapps. Statistical analysis of the results had brought out the relative reliability both of the measurements and of the observers who had shared in their collection, and had resulted in rejections from among both. These results would be published in the second volume from the Ræcebiological Institute of Uppsala on the Lapps, and would, it was hoped, be the forerunner of many other such studies elsewhere.

Agreement upon points of technique in the light of such tests and analyses was sought, not in the first instance by the Committee itself—consisting as it did of no less than 35 members representing as many different countries and two nominated by the eugenists—but also by an Executive which would work in small groups, each dealing with a different section of technique and each consisting of five or six members representative of different schools.

Apart from the provision of data necessary for the above-mentioned purposes, the careful and critical attitude towards sources of error in technique, which the practice of testing and of publishing the results with the figures of the research itself would tend to promote, would in itself be a gain in anthropological studies, where the accuracy and comparability of their own data were too readily assumed by some, and where there was little opportunity of testing the reliability of data obtained by others. As in other sciences, the tools and methods used in earlier stages needed to be made more exact as a condition of continued progress. M.L.T.

#### Library Privileges: Borrowing books through the National Central Library.

**85** Many Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute appear to be unaware of the facilities open to them for borrowing books from other Institutions through the *National Central Library*. Application should be made to the *Asst. Secretary of the Institute* for any book or periodical desired.

The Institute is one of the 149 Societies and other corporate bodies united in the National Central Library out-lier library system, which includes, amongst others, the libraries of the *Folk-lore Society*, the *Horniman Museum*, the *Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Royal Empire Society*, the *Science Museum*, and the *Society of Antiquaries*. In addition, many University, Public and County Libraries also come within the system.

The National Central Library has exceptional provision for tracing scientific and other periodicals, since it houses the *Union List of Periodicals in the University Libraries*.

## REVIEWS.

### RELIGION.

**Der Ursprung der Gottesidee. Eine historisch-kritische und positive Studie.** By Von P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. Münster in Westfalen, 1935. VI. Band. *Endsynthese der Religionen der Urvölker Amerikas, Asiens, Australiens, Afrikas.* xxviii + 600 pp., 7 sketch maps, 6 maps in colour. 29 Rm.

In this synthesis of the previous five volumes of his colossal and erudite work, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Professor Schmidt devotes some space to a consideration of the numerous criticisms of his hypothesis. That many of the objections that have been raised to his treatment of the available material cancel out is obvious, and there are few anthropologists acquainted with his researches who are not prepared to give honour where honour unquestionably is due. Those of us who have ventured to differ from the learned author and point out what has seemed to us weaknesses in his method, or faulty conclusions drawn from the evidence (thereby calling down on our offending heads his sometimes pathetic and sometimes wrathful indignation), have never been in any doubt regarding his praiseworthy attempt to reduce to order the masses of data relating to the religion of the *Urvölker*, collected with such infinite pains and patience. If some of us feel that in postulating an original ethical theism revealed at the threshold of human history when the Creator spoke to men directly before a process of degeneration had begun as a result of primeval guilt (p. 492), Fr. Schmidt has been influenced by theological presuppositions, and that the stratigraphical diffusionist method employed to

substantiate this contention lacks confirmatory evidence from the side of archaeology, that high gods exist among low races has been abundantly proved. Furthermore, in placing Andrew Lang's conjecture on a sure foundation he has shown that the evolutionary scheme of religious development suggested by Tylor and his school requires considerable modification.

To embrace the great variety of reactions to the supernatural manifested in the most rudimentary cultures a multilinear rather than a unilinear system seems to be needed, and Fr. Schmidt's scheme is an instructive example of the conception of *kulturkreis* applied to a particular problem. That his method has influenced subsequent research in this field would hardly be denied by such anthropologists as Goldenweiser, Lowie, Kroeber, and Wissler, and in view of what he has achieved in the long years spent in his valuable investigations, it is the more to be regretted that he overstates his claims to have devised a method virtually incapable of error, and underestimates the difficulties of arriving at a really wholly satisfactory historical reconstruction of magico-religious beliefs and practices. Actually there is no such thing as an *Urkultur*, and no analysis of culture horizons can lift the veil that hides primeval man and his customs and ideas from our view, but Fr. Schmidt has been able to show that in his 'archaic culture stratum' there are high gods with ethical qualities. Furthermore, he has demonstrated that contrary to our former surmise they are often approached in prayer and (less frequently) they are the



recipients of sacrifice. Songs, dances and processions in a few instances are part of the ceremonial which is referred back to the All-Father. Sometimes, in fact, he is thought to have celebrated certain festivals himself while he was dwelling on the earth, and after he retired to his heavenly abode to have commanded their continuance. But while he may occupy a prominent place and exercise an important function in the everyday life of primitive communities, it has yet to be shown that 'monotheism' in the true sense of the term prevails.

The existence of high gods in a given culture is not in itself an indication that the people in question recognize the transcendent Deity as the one and only God of all the earth, as the Deutero-Isaiah strove to maintain in Israel at the end of the period of exile. Actually it was not until the second century B.C. that explicit monotheism was established in Judaism, while in Greece the metaphysical concept of a divine ground of the universe existed side by side with the Olympian and mystery theology. In modern savage tribes corresponding most closely to the hypothetical 'archaic substratum' a similar syncretistic monolatry prevails, for, despite Fr. Schmidt's efforts to explain away 'secondary figures' associated with All-Fathers in Central California, among the Algonquins, Salish, and elsewhere as deified ancestors and chiefs of the dead, high gods are not without their animistic counterparts. Moreover, in the light of the recent revelations of Prof. Karsten it would seem that the 'ethical monotheism' ascribed to the Fuegians by Fathers Koppers and Gusinde is at variance with the mental state and religion of those South American Indians who have retained their genuine native culture. It is very easy to confuse the concepts of 'monotheism' and 'supreme Being,' and as a result to label as 'monotheistic' every cult in which an All-Father plays a part irrespective of the existence of other supernatural beings. The gap between the 'primeval' and the 'primitive' is still very far from being bridged by any known historical method, and therefore there is no means of ascertaining scientifically in what the original beliefs of mankind consisted. So far as the evidence goes, however, a 'high god epoch' at the threshold of religion is an hypothetical as imaginary as an 'age of magic.'

E. O. JAMES.

**The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World.** Edited by S. H. Hooke. London, S.P.C.K., 1935. x + 288 pp., 44 illustrations.

Since much of this interesting work deals with Oriental subjects, it perhaps is not inappropriate to start with the last section, which is the one appealing most directly to the anthropologist. Mr. A. M. Hocart (pp. 263-281) has a grievance against classical mythology as generally studied, because it is divorced from ritual, and was so divorced by the later ancients, such as Virgil and Ovid. They having treated as pretty or curious or exciting stories what were once essentials of a ceremony intended to bestow more abundant life on its celebrants, it is no wonder that those nurtured in their views have been guilty of such solecisms (he gives instances ranging from Vedic India to modern Australia) as classifying mythical material according to its story-value, if any, and rejecting, not only available accounts of the ceremonies whereof the story was but one part, but many myths, which the editors could not understand because they did not know how and why they were told. The protest is justified, though less timely than it would once have been. Classical mythologists, at any rate, are well aware that many myths are etiological, others used on occasion as rites (at all events as spells, and the procedure of a witch, such as the one in Lucan who threatens to tell the true

story of Persephone, is often enough a worn-down survival of ceremonials once respectable and public). But they also know, what Mr. Hocart perhaps is apt to forget, that mythology includes also saga and *märchen*, and that even among myths there are many whose connection with any rite is a thing to be proved, not assumed.

The rest of the book deals with individual problems, and so is matter rather for the oriental or classical specialist—who will find not a little worthy of his attention—than of the anthropologist in general, though he, too, should not neglect the book. Mr. C. N. Deedes (pp. 1-42) is of opinion that mazes have an Egyptian origin. One is inclined to ask why he derives them from so narrow and so late a source, seeing that there were labyrinthine cave-shrines before the first Pharaoh ruled, and many jungle paths, which might conceal the way to holy places, perhaps before our somewhat hypothetical arboreal ancestors learned to walk upright. Incidentally, he handles Greek material rather uncritically. Father E. Burrows (pp. 43-70) and Dr. A. R. Johnson (pp. 73-111) deal, respectively, with cosmological patterns (such as the ziqqurat, which is somehow the universe) in Babylonia, and with the part played by the king in the ritual at Jerusalem. Both are interesting and full of curious information, but want of skill in Semitology prevents the reviewer from criticizing them in detail. Professor W. O. E. Oesterley (pp. 115-158) illustrates syncretism by one of its most remarkable cases, the blend, among the less orthodox Jews of the Diaspora, of the cults of the Phrygian Sabazios and their own Yahweh. Dr. O. S. Rankin (pp. 161-208) argues acutely for the derivation of the festival of Hanukkah (better known as Encenia, or as the Lights) from the cult of Dionysus. Not all his proofs are cogent, but he makes out a good case. The editor (pp. 213-233), venturing on the very thorny ground of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, draws attention to a number of features which may well be derived from a ritual much older than any of the surviving documents, with a divine king from pre-prophetic Israelitish cult as the central figure. Professor E. O. James, dealing with a more familiar theme (pp. 237-260), sets forth certain features in the genesis and development of the dramatic Christian ritual.

These essayists would certainly not claim infallibility for themselves or their views, and question marks are likely to appear at times on the margin of any careful student's copy, or at all events, their equivalents in his mind. But of suggestions for further inquiry and hints towards the interpretation of facts already known there is abundance, which is to say that the book attains the chief end of all such collections.

H. J. ROSE.

#### FOLK-LORE, U.S.A.

**Folk-lore from Adams County, Illinois.** (*Memoirs of the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation.*) By Harry M. Hyatt. New York, Cabella-French Corporation, 1935. xvi + 723 pp.

This massive volume contains 10,949 items. To say this is at once to vindicate the learned author's honesty, that would not add one single doubtful item to get a round number; to bear witness to his vast industry and that of two ladies of his family who helped him in collecting such a mass of material, by the sure but laborious methods of "knowing people intimately and interviewing them personally" (p. xvi); and to make it perfectly clear that no ordinary-sized review can do more than mention what the book contains. Dr. Hyatt calls it "an impossible task" (p. xv) to refer all the material which he has thus gathered from the mouths and generally in the very words of the folk to its origins in European and African lore, and so it is, at less length



than that of the *Golden Bough*. The general impression on the reviewer's mind is that we have a huge mass of detritus, mostly European—a good many items are derived from negroes, but not much is specifically African in what they believe and do, while the Amerindian material is not very bulky and contributes little, beyond weather signs and a few pieces of herbal lore, which might not have been picked up from the whites—together with a fair proportion of new material, proving that the mentality which gave rise in the past to omens, wizardry and so forth is still present, showing itself, for instance, in beliefs connected with craps (a peculiarly American game with dice), baseball and other typically modern and local pursuits. Merely as an example of how the older material has been worn down and debased, I cite a riddle. Something like the original form is preserved in one of Norman Duncan's stories of the Labrador, and runs as follows:—

As I was going o'er London bridge,  
I met my brother Jan;  
I cut off his head an' sucked the blood,  
An' let the body stan'. (*A dewberry.*)

Dr. Hyatt gives two versions, Nos. 10,912 and 10,948, both of which have forgotten the answer and substituted a bottle of some kind of drink for the berry (thus leaving

"cut off his head" without meaning; indeed, one of them substitutes "knocked off"), while both spoil the metre and one the rhyme. For modernization, we may observe that some of the ghostly visitations which form a large part of the lore have their effect on electric lights, while the ritual of baseball, already mentioned, accounts for items 8,674-8,726, besides one or two mentions elsewhere.

Two grumbles in parting from this valuable and interesting work. Will the printers take note that a dash is not a hyphen and cannot take the place of a colon or semicolon; and will Dr. Hyatt, if he issues a second edition, add to his useful index the ordinary names of such things as the signs of the zodiac and the botanical or zoological appellations of beasts, birds, fishes and plants? At present they are cited by their popular names only, and these are not always intelligible, though some of them are explained in the text, if the reader knows where to look.

Nothing but the heartiest approbation can be expressed or felt for the institution under whose auspices the work is published, the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation, which has for its primary purpose "the publication of technical journals devoted to narrow aspects of scholarly research." H. J. ROSE.

### PSYCHOLOGY.

**The Chemistry of Thought.** *Introducing a new basis for the descriptive analysis of constructive thought and creative imagination.* By Claude A. Claremont, B.Sc., A.C.G.I. Resident Director, Montessori Training College, London. London: Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1935. Svo., 259 pp. Price 8s. 6d.

A simplification was introduced into chemistry, the author tells us, by the discovery of the elements; in the same way the twenty-six letters of the alphabet can make an endless number of words. What is desired is to define the limited number of fundamental happenings out of which all thought is made up. He suggests that the following may be regarded as a beginning of the list of elements of thought. (1) The complex unit; (2) the psychic events by which unit events become combined; (3) the element of associative recall; (4) the direct perception of causation; (5) the conative element; (6) the "manipulative" element; (7) the "character" element. The first and fourth are the discoveries of the author, the others he says have been described before, but, lacking (1) and (4), are inadequate for the analysis of thought. This summary of his plan for the book is sufficient to show what may be expected of a scheme so ambitious and so muddled. He even says that "the whole value and essence of a so-called 'element' is never its simplicity, but merely the fact of its constant reappearance in various compounds," e.g., 'mental courage' is an element in this idiom though containing contributions from every side of the individual's make-up.

The interest of the book for most readers will not lie in the confused web of the author's thought, but in the Appendix on the Montessori Method; he points out how very rare it is for a child to be observed in the scientific meaning of the term, to be watched while being left to do just what he likes. It is therefore a shock to learn that in the Montessori schools 'the child is stopped by the teacher if he misuses the apparatus'; but this gives an important clue to the limitations of the Montessori method and to the book under review—the omission of phantasy.

The omission of the rôle of phantasy in mental development also seriously limits the scope of the book (and of the Montessori method), and leads to a peculiar division of childhood's activity into 'work' and 'play.' This

part of the exposition is not at all clear, and the reviewer is left free to conclude that 'work' is an activity of which the Montessori teacher approves, and 'play' is something that he does not understand. Dr. Maria Montessori's valuable contributions to the hygiene of childhood lies in her understanding that a child cannot be forced to be grown-up quickly, i.e., if it is physically weak it should not have heavy plates, cups and saucers to use and play with, but give it light vessels and it will gladly use them usefully, be tidy and be proud to be tidy.

Here in this short appendix is something good; it is positive and based on observation. The rest is confusion.

JOHN RICKMAN.

**The Primordial Ocean, An Introductory Contribution to Social Psychology.** By W. J. Perry, M.A., D.Sc. London: Methuen, 1935. xi + 380 pp. Price 15s.

With this volume Dr. Perry adds another erudite and ingenious argument in support of the thesis first propounded in the *Children of the Sun*. One is impressed by the tremendous range of ethnographic material cited in the development of the argument. All the continents are combed for telling examples and illustrations.

The question remains, however, does the argument convince? Dr. Perry's first premise would be questioned at once by many sociologists. He contends that a minimum 'Standard of Behaviour,' representing the biological contribution to culture, can be established by examining the manner of life of the simplest peoples, food-gatherers like the Australians, the African Negritos, etc. He concludes, from this examination, that the getting of food is the one fundamental biological urge; the family the one fundamental social group of mankind. Everything else is culture, superimposed upon the 'Standard of Behaviour.' Thus he revives, with a new twist, the assumption that the simplest food-gatherers are so close to cultureless primordial man that their social behaviour is determined principally if not solely by biological factors. It is doubtful, also, whether Dr. Perry's 'Standard of Behaviour' would satisfy most comparative psychologists. To what, for example, would Dr. Perry attribute the cerebral functions of man?



The next stage in the argument is to demonstrate that hunger and the family do not provide a sufficient basis for the invention of social institutions or even modes of social behaviour, like violence. All social institutions, those of social organization, of magic and religion, of kinship, even of economic life, are imported. Culture everywhere, moreover, exhibits a uniform pattern, based on a universal and uniform theory, embodied in the myth of *The Primordial Ocean*. The general form of this myth is well known. In it the world is fished up from the waters by sky-beings. These are the Children of the Sun, who carried the gift of culture and of the life-giving rituals connected with the kingship everywhere. Dr. Perry traces this universal myth back to the rituals of consecration connected with Kingship in Egypt; and these, he shows, reflect the historical facts of dynastic struggles, and the dominating phenomenon in Egyptian life, the inundations of the Nile. Thus the universal theory of the origin of culture is traced back to a series of real events—the *primum mobile* of culture.

This is the gist of Dr. Perry's elaborate argument, as the present reviewer has been able to gather it. That it has failed to convince is due primarily to a single methodological consideration. Dr. Perry treats myths as serious history. Myths record facts, the one universal fact which explains the existence of social institutions, the coming of the Children of the Sun. "We began by accepting the Pawnee statement that their creation story represented an historical fact. The result has been to show that they were substantially correct. . . ." says Dr. Perry, at one place. The proof of this is that what appears as myth in one culture is ritual in another and eventually emerges as historical fact in Egypt. By assuming the historicity of myth, and by pressing analogies in which any feature of one culture is considered to be homologous with any other feature of any other culture, almost anything can be proved.

*The Primordial Ocean* is a stimulating and even brilliant book, but it requires, the reviewer feels, an act of faith to accept its main contentions. M. F.

#### GENERAL.

**Habitat, Economy and Society: A Geographical Introduction to Ethnology.** By C. Daryll Forde. London. Methuen, 1934. xiv + 500 pp., illustrations, maps, bibliography. Price 15s.

Professor Forde has here produced a valuable and thoughtful survey of the ethnology of the lowlier peoples from a geographical point of view, deeply influenced by the thought that human geography demands as much knowledge of humanity as of geography. Reactions to environment, adaptations of environment, migrations and cultural borrowings are all discussed in a reasonable way, with an ever-recurring warning against too broad generalizations. Hunting and Collecting, as a lowly economic scheme, is shown to cover very diverse modes of life discussed in seven chapters, of which three work out specific examples from the Old World, while four deal with the New. The author makes a point of giving as precise data as possible about each people described, and he carries this scheme on by dealing with cultivators in Africa, south India, the Pacific and America. Then follow four chapters on pastoral nomads, studying the Masai, the Ruwala Badawin, the Horse and Sheep herders of Central Asia, the Reindeer herders of Siberia. The last section gives general reflections on the problems involved.

In the studies of the New World the author gives many results of his own experience, elsewhere he has summarized and meditated upon the observations of others, and everywhere he shows a welcome freedom from the grip of theoretical conflict. An 18-page bibliography is a great help to the student. A parallel book on what may be called the higher cultures is very much needed, but many problems are involved in the preparation of such a book. The vast differences between cultivators using digging sticks, hoes and ploughs are

well brought out and the crafts associated with cultivation are treated with a specially interesting section on iron. Cereal cultivation, both with the hoe and with the plough, is treated as everywhere in the Old World as part of a single complex process of accretion of culture, and the problem of the origins of New World cultivation is, like many others, not raised. The section on domestic animals, and, especially, the discussion of pig and horse, is well done.

The author is to be congratulated on a judicious balance in this book between observation and inference. He does not produce sociological abstractions, but remembers he is dealing with live men: his treatment is often enriched by his knowledge of archaeology. Needless to say, no two writers on this subject would choose quite the same data for mention, but it would be difficult to find a better selection than is given in this highly competent survey.

The illustration of the book merits special commendation. Maps and drawings all reproduced as line blocks make it possible to give richer illustration than could be paid for if in half-tone, without raising the price of the book. The maps on pp. 4-5 are very interesting; in a revised edition the author might find it worth while to explain that the distribution of dominant economic systems refers to the state of affairs apart from European influences of recent centuries. It might also be well to describe the Equatorial Rain Forest of Africa as a region of hand cultivation and hunting. If the descriptions are sometimes inclined to be rather over-systematized, there is, on the other hand, a valuable thread of comparison running through the book, making it of value for many societies other than those specifically described. H. J. FLEURE.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

**Pottery Figure from Luzira, Uganda.** (Cf. MAN, 1933, 29.)

**92** SIR,—In MAN, 1933, 29, I published a brief account of some remarkable, but fragmentary, figures excavated from pits on Luzira Hill, near Port Bell, Uganda, and some of the fragments were illustrated in Plate B, Figs. 1 and 2. Further examination of these fragments has convinced me that the tentative restoration proposed in Fig. 2, by connecting up the head and body pieces of Fig. 1, is almost certainly incorrect. Mr. E. J. Wayland, who presented these objects to the British Museum, disagreed with my proposed restoration at the time; subsequently my colleague, Mr. A. Digby, pointed out the probability of another restoration, by

connecting the same head with a different body fragment, as illustrated in the accompanying figure. Although the broken edges do not fit perfectly, they are, when allowance is made for their abraded condition, nearly enough complementary to give great probability to the correctness of this restoration. (The crack at the join can be seen between the fourth and fifth 'neck-ring' from the top.) Not only do these pieces make a better join, but the quality and thickness of the clay are almost identical at this point, and the modelling of the body piece seems to carry on the design of the head-piece. The only weakness in this proposal is that it gives unnatural length to the neck; but parallel cases can be quoted, e.g., in carved wooden figures from Sierra Leone.



The body in this case, like the head, is hollow, the clay varying from about  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in thickness, and being well smoothed off on the interior surface. The thick horizontal band and the two vertical bands on either side of the breasts consist of 'appliqué' strips of clay, as can be seen where the right-hand piece has broken away at the base. The prominent breasts indicate that the figure represents a female, as is also suggested by



FIG. 1. POTTERY FIGURE FROM LUZIRA, UGANDA.

the numerous neck-rings. The body piece previously figured with the head apparently wears a number of heavy wristlets and anklets, which strongly suggest that in that case also the subject was a woman.

No further light is yet available on the antiquity or meaning of these figures, which remain the only examples of representational art known from pre-colonial Uganda.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ.

#### The Fire-Piston in South India. (Cf. MAN, 1935, 112.)

**93** SM.—In MAN (July, 1935, 112), Mr. M. D. Raghavan has described four iron objects from the Adichanallur antiquities considered by Mr. Rea to be drilling instruments, but which are in Mr. Raghavan's opinion fire-pistons. From the figures given in the above paper it is clear that the pistons are larger (more than double the length of the cylinders) than is usual in the case of fire-pistons. The wide, slanting mouths in all the four specimens, particularly in Figs. 2, 3 and 4, are very marked, and this cannot allow the rods to work as packed pistons. As Mr. Raghavan describes, the ends of the above rods are flattened, but fire-pistons, on the other hand, have cup-like depression at their ends.

From these considerations it appears that the four specimens are pestle-and-mortars and not fire-pistons. Balfour,<sup>1</sup> also has noted the striking resemblance of some Bornean fire-pistons with the pestles and mortars in some of the British Museum specimens (Fig. 35 in his Plate III), and the same probably holds true in the present case. The custom of chewing betel-nuts is also widespread in India and it is not improbable that these objects were used for crushing betel-nuts. A long piston is always required in the case of such mortars to secure the full grip of the hand. The flattened ends may have been sharp enough to crush the hard betel-nuts as the pointed upper end of the piston in Fig. 4 suggests; they are also required in taking the crushed ingredients out of the mortar.

S. SARKAR.

#### Notes on a Knitting Technique. Cf. MAN, 1935, 183.

**94** SM.—The title of Mr. Stig Ryden's interesting contribution in MAN, 1935, 183, is clearly a misnomer: although his No. 9 (= my figure C) can be imitated in knitting by turning each stitch over on to the mesh-needle, 'netting' is clearly a better term for this technique.

All four types of looping are so clearly allied, and the simplest (A) so obviously related to coil basket-work (especially in the meshed examples given (Figs. 5-7, pl. L)) that its apparently sporadic distribution may be due solely to the lack of attention given to the subject by field anthropologists. A piece of loose basketry in loop-work (A) from ancient Egypt is in the Cairo Museum.

The technique seems to be as prevalent in E. Africa (Uganda and elsewhere) and in the Nilotic Sudan as in South and West Africa. Since A and B were both known to the ancient Peruvians, its introduction into South America by negro slaves seems unlikely. In a very comprehensive article on the subject (*Knotless Netting in America and Oceania*, 'American Anthropologist', vol. 37 (1935), No. 1, p. 117 seq.), Mr. D. S. Davidson assigns the apposite names given with my figures to the simple variants of the 'stitches' used. He also gives an extensive bibliography, supplementary to which may be included notes by myself mainly on examples in the Pitt Rivers Museum (MAN, 1925, 77; 1926, 4), among

A. Simple loop.

B. Loop & twist(s).

C. Hour-glass.

D. Figure of eight.

which is a basket-bag from New Zealand in (A) decoratively applied. This material I was kindly permitted to use by Professor H. Balfour. ERNEST S. THOMAS. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> Balfour, H.: Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor, Oxford, 1907, p. 45.









FIG. 1. BARK BEEHIVE, KUNGWA.



FIG. 2.

- (a) GRASS FILTER FOR BEES' WAX, KUJUNTU.  
(b) GRASS TORCH, CHENGE, FOR SMOKING  
OUT BEES.



FIG. 3.

SKIN BOWL, NGUPIRU, IN WHICH THE HONEY  
COMB IS LOWERED TO THE GROUND.



FIG. 4. BARK TROUGH, LIKUNGWA, FOR HONEY.

**APPARATUS USED BY NGINDO HONEY-HUNTERS.**

*By permission of the Trustees of The British Museum.*



# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Tanganyika Territory.

With Plate E.

Culwick.

NGINDO HONEY-HUNTERS. By A. T. Culwick, Tanganyika.

**95** In the north-eastern foothills of the Mahenge *massif*, Tanganyika Territory, there lives an isolated group of Wangindo, a branch of the once powerful tribe who figured so prominently in the Maji-Maji Rising of 1905. There are only a few scattered hundreds of them, most of their kinsmen living a long distance off over the Liwale District border. For geographical reasons they have been little influenced by the outside world and still live the life of their forefathers. They have no stock; the tsetse-fly prevents that. They grow a few crops, but on the whole dislike the settled life that agriculture entails, preferring rather to hunt game with poisoned arrows and, above all, to wander off, sometimes for weeks at a time, in search of honey.

Honey is the keystone of their economy. The Mgindo thinks in terms of honey; his children, when lucky, are smeared with it, his house smells of it, and his conversation invariably turns to 'that hollow tree two days' walk away where the bees are.'

His greatest friend is the honey-bird, whose call never falls on deaf ears. Down goes his hoe and off goes the Mgindo, fire-stick, spear and axe in hand, to follow the bird. He may travel for days, oblivious of the fate of his crops, sleeping up a tree at night, on and on till at last the bird leads him to the bees. He then sets to work to cut down their tree and take the honey, never forgetting to put aside some of the grubs for the bird.

The Wangindo also make beehives and hang them up in trees, not, as one might imagine, near the villages, but hidden away in the furthestmost parts of the forest, far from paths and human habitations. How they ever find them again is incomprehensible to the stranger, but they are never baffled. They can walk with unerring accuracy for miles through trackless forest to *their* trees and consider the blazing of a trail superfluous.

Their beehives (*kungwa*), Fig. 1, are made from the *miombo* tree. The bark is stripped off for a length of four or five feet and is then formed into a cylinder whose edges are held together with wooden pegs. One end of the cylinder (right of figure) is closed by a flap of bark bent over and held in place with a piece of string passed through holes pierced in the flap and the wall of the cylinder; the other end (left of figure) remains open. The hive is placed in a tree with the open end rather lower than the closed one to prevent rain getting in, and is left there until the bees find it. Sometimes aromatic herbs are placed inside it to attract them, but this practice is not universal. When the honey is ready the owner of the hive opens the closed end and blows in smoke from a grass torch (*chenge*), Fig. 2 (b), to drive out the bees.

Then he takes the honeycomb and places it in a skin bowl (*ngupiru*), Fig. 3, to which is tied a long grass rope for lowering the booty to the ground. The bowl is usually made of hartebeeste skin, stretched while fresh over the bottom of an upturned beer-pot and allowed to dry in that position. It is then cut to the required size and provided with a rim of split bamboo, four tongues of skin being left for attaching the rope. The Wangindo always turn the hairy side of the skin to the inside of the bowl and refrain from removing the hair, for a rather delightful reason. They say the honey sticks to the



hair for a long time and it is a treat for the children to rub their fingers on the sticky hair and then lick them!

When all the comb has been collected the honey is squeezed out by hand into gourds or a bark bowl (*likungica*), or trough, as shown in Fig. 4, and is usually eaten uncleaned—dead bees and grubs and all. The Wangindo prepare the wax by boiling it with water in earthenware pots, allowing the mixture to cool till the wax solidifies and then pouring it into a filter (*kuruntu*) of plaited grass, Fig. 2 (a). They grip the filter near the top with two slats of wood and slide these down towards the bottom to express the liquid. The filtrate is thrown away, but the wax is remelted in an earthenware pot and cast into lumps for sale to traders.

A curious thing about these very primitive people is that in spite of their isolation, numbers of them have travelled far. Most of their headmen have been to the coast and are well acquainted with European ways. One finds, perhaps, that the typical honey-hunter to whom one is talking has spent several years in Government service as a messenger at the headquarters of a distant province. A handful of them are even literate. But little difference does it make in the end. The lure of a wild roaming existence calls them home, and no sooner do they return to the tribe than all memory of the outside world and its ways seems to fade from their minds as once again, fire-stick, spear and axe in hand, they set out on the trail of the honey-bird.

(The specimens illustrated in Plate E have been presented to the Sub-Department of Ethnography in the British Museum.) Reg. No. 1935. 10-24.

#### Tibet.

**THE SCAPE-GOAT IN WESTERN TIBET.** *By the Rev. Walter Asboe, Kyelang, Kangra District, N. India.*

Asboe.

**96** The releasing of a scape-goat is thought by the peasants of Western Tibet to be an effective means of obtaining absolution from the moral impurities in the individual or the community.

Noxious diseases, failure of the crops, or some catastrophic event which have thrown the community into confusion, are the chief reasons assigned for employing the scape-goat as a vehicle for carrying off the moral rubbish and transferring it elsewhere.

A learned lama informed me that in Central Tibet it is customary for the ecclesiastics to set free a scape-man triennially. The purpose of this practice is to absolve themselves, and incidentally the community as a whole, of an evil influence which is supposed to militate against the well-being of the country and its people. The scape-man thus chosen is usually a destitute or criminally-disposed person for whom the community has no use. The ceremony of *Tsay-tar* (saving one's life) is then performed, when the scape-man is lavishly fed, adorned with ornaments, supplied with money and provided with a pony and comforts for the journey and released. He must wander for the rest of his life in foreign countries, with no expectation of ever visiting his native land. It is said that the scape-man rarely lives long, for he

either dies prematurely through disease, or meets a tragic end through his own or someone else's fault.

When releasing a scape-goat (or sometimes a scape-sheep) the following is the ritual at the ceremony of *Tsay-tar*. The diseased or noxious person brings a goat led by a black rope before the community. A man then, stepping up to the animal, simulates cutting its throat with his hunting knife. In the meanwhile the owner of the goat pleads loud and long that the animal be spared, promising to pay compensation in money or kind provided that no blood is shed. The goat is now regarded as a fitting substitute for the penalty which should otherwise be paid for the sins of the individual or community, since it must undergo banishment from the flock. When the amount of money to be exacted from the owner of the goat is decided, the black rope is substituted for a white one, and this is tied round the neck of the animal. It is then gaily adorned, well fed, and driven to the hills to wander hither and thither until the cause of its banishment is removed. During the period of exile, no one may place a load on the scape-goat, nor even so much as touch it. If the animal should die before the moral impurity of the community is purged, another scape-goat is chosen, though the ceremony of *Tsay-tar* is not repeated.

There seems to be no regularity in Western



Tibet as regards the performance of this ceremony of releasing a scape-goat, for this is contingent on the moral condition of the community. The imposition of this form of

absolution for the sins of the people rests in the hands of the lamas (priests), whose function it is to decide whether or not such ceremony should be performed.

**SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET.** *By the Rev. Walter Asboe.*

**97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

Two stories of the last human sacrifices in Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

"A man had to be killed every year for the benefit of the fields of the community. The peasants were to offer the victim in turns. (They probably kept slaves, and these were generally killed). One year it was a poor widow's turn, and as she had no servants it was understood that her only son was to be sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly about this, a wandering hermit came to her house and offered to die in the place of her son, if she would feed him well until the day of execution. The widow gladly accepted the offer, and on the appointed day the hermit was led with much noise before the wooden idol of the god of the fields. When the executioner walked up with his axe to the hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if the god really wants to take my life.' Then he stepped with the axe before the idol and said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really want my life, take it please; if not, I shall take yours.' As there was no reply, the hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in pieces. Then he threw the fragments into the river, and everybody went home."

The other story related to me concerning the last human sacrifice in Manchate (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

of it) was that of a woman who was buried alive.

Local tradition has it that she pronounced a curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrificed in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously, their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcasses offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrificed triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,



and finally sacrificed. At a marriage conducted on a large scale, a sheep is thrown headlong from the roof of a house, and its heart torn out. Similarly, when sickness occurs threatening the life of the patient, a sheep has to be sacrificed.

The animal is covered with a shroud to impersonate a corpse. In the meanwhile, the relations of the sick man call him repeatedly by name, and to the accompaniment of loud lamentations the sheep is led to the cremating ground and burnt alive.

Though in theory the taking of life and the

offering of bloody sacrifices are revolting to the Tibetan Buddhist, the sacrificing of animals goes on unchecked by the Buddhist hierarchy in many parts of Western Tibet.

A section of the community, however, reluctant to shed blood when sacrificing to the local deities, makes dough images of animals for sacrificial purposes.

With the advance of civilization and education in the secluded valleys of Western Tibet, bloody sacrifices will no doubt sink into the limbo of forgotten things.

Róheim.

**FREUD AND ANTHROPOLOGY. FREUD'S 80TH BIRTHDAY.** By Géza Róheim, Budapest.

**98** Sigmund Freud was born on 6 May, 1856, in Freiberg, a small town in Czechoslovakia. He has now attained his 80th year



SIGISMUND FREUD.

and we may still hope for new light from the pen of this master genius. In 1912 a series of articles was published by Freud in *Imago* on

some resemblances in the psychology of the neurotic and the savage. These articles were published in *Totem and Taboo*. Some of the theories put forward in that memorable work are now almost universally accepted. I suppose most anthropologists will admit that human beings in general, and primitive man in particular, may entertain *ambivalent* or (to use a non-technical term) an ambiguous attitude to certain persons and phenomena, and also that primitive man at least in certain situations behaves like the philosophical idealist and like the child, and invests the figments of his brain with a kind of pseudo-reality. This is what Freud has called the *omnipotence* of thought. It is probably less easy for the non-psycho-analyst to accept the principle of *projection*, i.e., the explanation of demons, ghosts, hobgoblins as the projected representatives of the aggressive trends of their believers. But the war waged against Freudian (that is, psycho-analytic) anthropology is mainly directed against Freud's version of Atkinson's *Primal Horde* or Cyclopean family, according to which human civilization is based on the remorse felt by the sons of the semi-bestial horde after their primeval parricide. I have discussed this question very often; recently in the *Riddle of the Sphinx*, 1934. What I wish to say this time is merely that I do not believe that psycho-analytic anthropology stands or falls with this view of human origins.

The theory of the primal-horde was then applied by Freud to the psychology of the crowd and to certain phenomena on the border line between group psychology and individual psychology such as hypnotism, suggestion, etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse*, 1921, published, in English, under the title of *Group Psychology and the*

*Analysis of the Ego* (International Psycho-analytic Press, 1922).



Many of Freud's minor papers would explain certain problems to the anthropologist if only the anthropologist were prepared to grasp these explanations. Thus as early as 1907 Freud showed that the explanation discovered in clinical analysis for obsessional ceremonies can also be applied to ceremonies and ritual in general.<sup>2</sup> In one of his papers on the psychology of love-life Freud explains the value of virginity psychologically as based on a father-fixation and discusses primitive initiation rites for girls.<sup>3</sup> Two of Freud's papers introduce the reader to the world of demons.<sup>4</sup> In his more recent books, looking back at the results of a lifetime, he applies the method of dissection or analysis to the 'values' of mankind to religion, even to civilization itself; Freud argues that whatever mankind may invent is conditioned by our unconsciousness and shows how we can hardly hope to solve certain inherent difficulties of social life. Yet in his book on the *Future of an Illusion* we find him in a more optimistic vein predicting the passing away of human infantilism and the evolution of mankind to a better adjustment to reality.

But the real significance of Freud for anthropology does not lie in his contributions to anthropology, however important they may be. The name of Freud is identical with that of the new psychology or, in other words, of psycho-analysis. Now we can understand why human beings behave in a certain way, why they believe and value some things and avoid others and so on. Freud has found a method, a technique, a way to explain human personality. He has shown that there are certain trends in us which are in opposition to the attitude of other elements in our personality and are, therefore, repressed but can be re-admitted into consciousness by the technique of analysis. This is being shown experimentally in every clinical analysis and there is, therefore, an overwhelming mass of evidence to support these views.

It is of course, difficult to accept them without personal experience on account of the *repression* which is at work in every human being. Few people would now probably contend that psycho-analysis as a clinical method is simply

nonsense. But if we admit its validity in Europe we must believe a priori that as a method of investigation it is at least applicable to the individual savage. Of course, in this statement, the fundamental psychological unity of mankind is taken for granted.

The next step is practice and not theory. My own field work and recently the dream-material collected by a pupil of mine in French Equatorial Africa have shown that the dreams of primitive people can be analyzed according to the same method and with the same results as the dreams of Europeans.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Sachs of Johannesburg is actually analyzing a South African medicine man. Therefore, I hope, anthropologists will have to grant another point, viz., that, though the quantitative distribution of these elements may be different, an individual Aranda or Yuma Indian is made up of the same mental elements and conflicts as an individual Englishman or Frenchman.

The great battle will be waged when it comes to the question of *culture*. Anthropologists in general will reject the attempt to explain culture as a neurosis. Let us listen to the criticism of modern 'functional' anthropology. Margaret Mead writes: "Róheim states that civilization " is a neurosis and so reveals his fundamental " confusion on this point. Individuals may be " neurotic, cultural forms may embody a sym- " bolic solution of conflict which they have " induced in individuals, but a society, although " it may suffer from diseases which are analogous " to the diseases which infect a living organism, " i.e., defects in structure and disturbances in " functioning, is not of the same order as the " individual psyche, and if its present forms are " to be referred to conflict situations in the " remote past, these forms must be regarded as " inventions of adaptive mechanisms for group " living not merely as the symbolic expression of " the psychic conflict of the adults who par- " ticipated in any given social conflict."<sup>6</sup>

I have made this long quotation, as it is probably typical of the modern 'functional' school. Perhaps I am to be blamed for having used the word 'neurosis' which may convey a somewhat different meaning to the sociologist.

<sup>2</sup> *Zwangshandlungen und Religionsübungen*, Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Tabu der Virginität*, Gesammelte Schriften V, 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Das Unheimliche*, Imago V, 1919, and *Eine Teufels-neurose im Siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, Imago IX, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> A recently published book by I. S. Lincoln, *The Dream in Primitive Cultures*, 1935, applies the analytic method interpretation to dreams of primitive people but gives very little association material.

<sup>6</sup> M. Mead, Review of the Riddle of the Sphinx in *Character and Personality*, 1935, 90.



But I must also point out that a neurosis is not merely a 'symbolic expression of conflicts' it is something very 'functional' and, indeed, for the individual concerned it is the only possible 'mode of living.' A neurosis is a compromise between infantile endopsychic strivings and environment. It is a psychic system, or structure containing wish-fulfilments, defence-mechanisms, substitute gratifications, the laws which make the 'group living' of the Id, the Ego and the Super-Ego possible. I might therefore have used the expression 'psychic structure' or 'defence formation.' On the other hand, I certainly did mean to indicate a 'disturbance in functioning.' Civilization must appear in this light if viewed from the point of view of the Id or from an 'animal' standard of health. "Thirdly and 'lastly,' Freud tells us, "and this seems most important of all, it is impossible to ignore the extent to which civilization is built up on renunciation of instinctual gratifications, the degree to which the existence of civilization presupposes the non-gratification (suppression, repression or something else?) of powerful instinctual urgencies." It is therefore cer-

tainly related to the various types of neurosis and as, on the other hand, being human means being 'civilized' (language, fire, etc.), we must conclude that a certain degree of 'neurosis' (i.e., deviation from direct instinctual gratification by means of a psychical system formation), is essential to all human beings. What we call a 'neurosis' in the clinical sense, may also be called an 'individual civilization' just as a civilization is a 'group neurosis.' We can study these group neuroses in the making when we analyze a family group and see how the neurotic reactions of the various members correspond to each other or react on each other so that a small group is formed with 'laws' of its own.<sup>5</sup> When one of the members of such a group is analyzed and his character undergoes a change the others who continue to remain neurotic find him 'unbearable' and he cannot get on with them any more. Thus certain non-homogeneous (to use Margaret Mead's term) societies react with violent hatred if some of the minor groups contained in them do not conform to the particular neurotic standard of the large group.

#### Gold Coast.

#### IRON DISC CURRENCY FROM ASHANTI.

By R. P. Wild, Inspector of Mines, Gold Coast.

Wild.

**99** I am indebted to Mr. R. Purvis, the General Manager of the Konongo Gold Mines, Ltd., for his courtesy in bringing to my notice some old iron discs, which had been dug up in June, 1935, during prospecting operations, in which his company was engaged.

A hoard of 25 of these discs were found at a depth between 3 to 4 feet by Dr. E. J. Prior, a member of the staff of Konongo Gold Mines, Ltd., whilst a prospecting pit was being excavated some 5,200 feet nearly due South-west of Odumase village in Ashanti-Akim (Odumase is nearly 40 miles S.E. of Kumasi).

Dr. Prior took me to the pit on 9 December, 1935, and I was able to make a careful examination of the pit. It was obvious that these discs had been buried for many years for on the sides of the pit all signs of previous disturbance had been obliterated. There were no signs of a furnace or slag in the vicinity of the pit.

Dr. Prior gave me two of these discs and Mr. Purvis gave me two more.

The discs are roughly circular with a diameter varying from  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Their thickness varies from  $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch, but as the surface is heavily encrusted with a brown scale of oxidized iron, these dimensions cannot refer to their original thickness.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Junner, Director of the Gold Coast Geological Survey, the assistance of the Imperial Institute was obtained and an analysis of one of the discs was made in its laboratories with the following result:—

The scale was removed as far as possible by gently hammering the specimen and the underlying metal was examined. The metal consisted of iron containing the following impurities:—

Silica, Si O <sub>2</sub>	= 0.47 %
Sulphur, S	= 0.06 %
Phosphorus, P	= 0.20 %
Nickel, Ni	= 0.07 %
Cobalt, Co	= 0.05 %

Manganese, lead, copper, cadmium, bismuth,

<sup>1</sup> S. Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, 1930, 63. Cf. also T. D. Unwin, *Sex and Culture*, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Franklin, *Family Reactions during a Case of*

*Obsessional Neurosis*, International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 1933, XIV, 87, and clinical experience of my own.



arsenic, antimony, titanium, chromium, vanadium were not detected.

Further, in view of the fact that a certain amount of undigested ore was found in the specimen, the opinion was expressed that the iron is almost certainly native.

(The writer wishes to express his thanks to the Imperial Institute and Dr. Junner for their valuable help in this matter).

Further inquiries made locally helped to throw some light on the origin of these iron discs. An old Ashanti when shown one, stated it was 'iron money' and valued at 6d., which information had been handed down to him by his father.

Any doubts as to the provenance of these discs may be dispelled when consideration is given to the communication supplied to the writer by a former officer of the Ashanti Political Service who had been stationed during part of his career at Juaso, the political headquarters of

the Juaso district, in which Odumase is situated. It appears that somewhere about the year 1929 this District Commissioner had noticed pieces of iron, as far as he could recollect, about  $2" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$ , stored away within the precincts of the 'palace' of the Omanhene of Juaben; Juaben being the native capital of the district. He was informed that they were iron currency, formerly made at Juaben and issued under the authority of the Omanhene. They were not in use at the time he saw them, but were merely kept as curios.

There, therefore, seems very little doubt that these iron discs were a former Ashanti currency and so far as the writer is aware there is no previous record of it.

A specimen of these discs has been deposited by the writer at the following museums:—The British Museum; The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; The University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

#### Britain: Archaeology.

Stevens.

**TWISTED CORD DECORATION ON BRONZE AGE POTTERY.** By Frank Stevens, O.B.E., J.P., F.S.A., Salisbury, South Wilts. and Blackmore Museum.

**100** It is one hundred and twenty years since the Rev. A. B. Hutchins excavated the Bell barrow near Winterslow Hut, Wilts., from which he recovered the large urn which is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum and figures in Abercromby's *Bronze Age Pottery*, vol. II, No. 356. A full account of this excavation is given by Mr. Hutchins in Sir Richard Colt-Hoare's *Modern Wilts., Hundred of Alderbury*, p. 211.

The decoration of this urn at once attracted his attention and he described it as follows: "The neck of the urn is laureated in a handsome though rude manner within and without." In 1870, Dr. Thurnam, in *Archæologia* 43, 349, Fig. 26, again refers to this decoration as a "border, six inches deep, profusely covered with an impressed branching spiky ornament in complicated and closely packed chevrons." He also was struck by it, for in a footnote he gives further details: "The impressed ornament is very peculiar, and is spoken of by Mr. Hutchins as 'a victor's laurel pattern.' At first I thought it might have been produced by the impression of the spikes of some grass or cereal. It is not certain whether they could

"have been produced by any double plaiting of cord or thong." (*Arch. Journ.*, XXVIII, 70). Nothing further seems to have been said about this form of decoration.

After examination of the urn at Oxford, and plaster casts, both positive and negative, which Mr. E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., kindly provided, the suggestion of a grass imprint appeared to be most unlikely, leaving the question of plaited cord for further investigation (Fig. 1). The regularity of the decoration certainly suggested the use of a plait and led to a general review of available illustrations of Bronze Age Pottery to find other examples of this technique. This revealed the fact that the design appears on urns of both Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The following from Lord Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, vol. II, will suffice to show the general distribution of this type of decoration: Fig. 70 from Colney, Norfolk; Fig. 74 from Water Newton, Peterborough; Fig. 140 from Grindle Top, Pickering; Fig. 187 from Meiklerigg, East Lothian; Fig. 189 from Foulford, Banff; Fig. 205b from an island in the Clyde; Fig. 356 from Winterslow, Wilts.; Fig. 357 from Tregaseal, Cornwall; Fig. 360 from near Ilfracombe; Fig. 505



from Kirkpark, Midlothian; Figs. 528 and 528a from Uddingston, Lanarkshire; and Fig. 566 from Antrim. Museums having these urns in their collections kindly furnished casts. Examination of the series, together with experiments

noticed in a less degree in the Uddingston urn at Edinburgh, where the strands are very coarse and consequently show clearly, and on that from Kirkpark (Fig. 4).

This use of a 'left-hand' twist suggested the possibility that on some urns with decoration impressed by *simple* twisted cords, a 'left-twist' may have been used. This was found to be the case; for example, on an urn from Alfriston (Abercromby II, 8) and on one from Handley Hill, Dorset (Abercromby II, 31). The urn from Sheriff Flats, Thankerton, Lanark, at Edinburgh (Abercromby II, 500a) shows pairs of left twists, some close together and some separating, and in the same collection the vessel from Quinish, Isle of Mull (Abercromby I, 410) displays pairs of right-hand twists. Other pieces showing two similar twists side by side have been found at Gunwalloe, Cornwall, preserved at Truro (Abercromby II, 369) with two left-hand twists, and at Mullion (Abercromby II, 429) with two right-hand twists.

Other examples occur, with groups of twists, left and right alternately, *e.g.*, food vessels from Goodmanham (Abercromby I, 71, 130, 142, 229) and Ferry Fryston (Abercromby I, 104) (Fig. 6). With reference to one illustrated in *British Barrowes* (Fig. 73), page 88, Greenwell says on page 306 that "the markings on the inside of the lip of the rim consist of three lines of impressions of very delicately-twisted thong or cord apparently of *three plaits*, applied close together; and a similar series encircles the vase close to the bottom." The impressions on the Goodmanham examples are extremely delicate and well-made and are undoubtedly the most interesting of all.

An examination of the illustrations in Abercromby's *Bronze Age Pottery*, vols. I and II (which may be taken as fairly representative of British examples) showed that of 170 vessels with twisted cord impressions, 109 had right twists and 43 had left twists, while 18 showed both. It is certainly interesting that 36 per cent. of these impressions should have been with left-hand twists. In the Wiltshire museums the proportion seems to be even higher. Its frequency goes to show that the left-hand twist was not accidental,



FIG. 1. FROM WINTERSLOW HUT, WILTS. (Ashmolean Museum).  
FIG. 2. FROM COLNEY. (Norwich Museum).  
FIG. 3. EXPERIMENTAL IMPRESSIONS OF PLAITED STRING.

in plaited string make it evident that the cords were not plaited, but that two twists, one a 'right-hand' and the other a 'left-hand,' had been laid parallel and fixed, so that they could be applied as a kind of stamp, as in the left-hand example in Fig. 3. That on the right shows a pair of 'right-twists.'

A singularly good example is the Colney Urn in Norwich Castle Museum. It not only shows the 'Victor's Laurel' pattern perfectly, but it is also possible to see that the distance between the two twists varies slightly, which would not be the case with a plait (Fig. 2). Another example (from a barrow at Grindle Top, Pickering, in the Sheffield Museum) shows the 'laurel' pattern and the imprint of the ends of the two twists diverging, which would not be the case if a plait were used. See Fig. 5. The same thing may be



and the fact that both right and left twists were sometimes used together in alternating strands suggests that its use was intentional. The import-

ant point is that the 'laureate' form of decoration does not seem to be produced by a plait but rather by two opposingly twisted pairs of cords.



FIG. 4. FROM KIRKPARK.

FIG. 5. FROM GRINDLE TOP, PICKERING.

FIG. 6. FROM FERRY FRYSTON.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

**Tradition and Prestige in Ngoni Society.**  
**101** Dr. Margaret H. Read presented a paper on the above subject to The Royal Anthropological Institute on Tuesday, 17th April, 1936.

**Maori and Polynesian in the light of recent Archaeological Research.**  
**102** Summary of a communication presented by Mr. H. D. Skinner, 21 April, 1936.

The first important theory regarding the origin of the New Zealand Maoris was that of Percy Smith who adduced traditional evidence to prove that they were derived from Tahiti. More recently the traditional matter recorded by Te Whatahoro had been held to prove that there had been a negroid population in New Zealand before Polynesian colonization, and that this ancient population was represented in modern times by the Morioris of the Chatham Islands and by Ngati Mamoe of Otago and Southland. This theory seemed to explain negroid characters present in the New Zealand Maoris and alleged to be absent in Tahiti and also the presence in New Zealand of curvilinear

decorative art asserted to be unrelated to decorative art in any other part of Polynesia. The theory was championed by Percy Smith and Elsdon Best and had been accepted, in a modified form, by Dr. Buck. The speaker held that if a Melanesian population had originally been present in New Zealand it would have profoundly affected aspects of Maori culture other than decorative art, e.g., language and social organization. But both these aspects of Maori culture were typically East Polynesian. A detailed examination of Moriori culture had shown it to be characteristically East Polynesian. Archaeological work carried out in the Ngati Mamoe area had revealed an East Polynesian material culture from beginning to end. At the Little Papanui site stratified deposits, ten feet in depth, had been excavated. The lowest levels there belonged to the moa-hunter era. Archaeological evidence was thus completely opposed to the theory of an ancient non-Polynesian population in New Zealand: the whole material culture thus far revealed was characteristically East Polynesian (Tahitian).

## REVIEWS

### FOLKLORE

**Healing Ritual: Studies in the technique and tradition of the Southern Slavs.** By P. Phyllis Kemp. London (Faber), 1935. 9 x 5½. 335 pp. Illustrated. Price £1 1s.

It is not easy to do justice to this book in one short notice, so great is the amount of new and valuable material that it contains. All field workers who know how hard it is to gain the confidence, and learn the secrets of peasants will appreciate

the skill, patience and capacity for roughing it which have enabled the author to collect at first hand from Wise Women, hereditary doctors and old people, who remembered former epidemics and the precautions then taken, full and exact accounts of the healing substances used, how they were prepared and the ritual necessary when they are applied.

The English student is further heavily indebted



to the author inasmuch as her intimate knowledge of Slavonic languages has enabled her to quote freely from Serbian, Russian and Bulgarian authorities on folk-medicine; and she has thus made available a mass of information which was buried deep in unknown tongues. The ground covered includes all the districts now known as Yugoslavia and thus Albanian as well as Slavonic lore is described and practices are shown to differ considerably in different districts. But the book is not a mere catalogue of 'cures.' The author in a chapter on Folk Psychology, aptly illustrated by folk tales and ballads, gives us the peasant's views on physiology and the soul, and shows how these beliefs are connected with the ritual. Dire poverty may lead to more care being taken of a sick ox or other beast, upon which the welfare of the family depends, than of a man or woman regarded as incurable. At the pilgrimage church at Čajnica I once heard a woman praying at the top of her voice for a sick cow, in the midst of the service and a crowded congregation.

The Ritual of Healing is very fully described. Sacrificial offerings, rites of redemption and substitution. Some rites, carried out in silence at special places bear evidence of a cult of spirits and ghosts. Fire created by friction has been largely used as a remedy. In Montenegro I was told that the patient took part in sawing the wood backwards and forwards and that the 'fire' (fever) went out of him into the wood and he was cured. The various ways of thus making fire are illustrated by an excellent series of photographs from drawings and from life. (Some lent by the Ethnographical Museum, Belgrade).

It is of interest to note that, mingled with wildly improbable theories, there are instances in which commonsense and observation has brought the peasant near to the truth. Thus epidemics are often thought to be wind-born. When the peasant believes that fever is carried by the wind from a swamp infected by a dead dragon, the wind has doubtless brought the mosquito.

Fortis in his book on Dalmatia, towards the end of the eighteenth century, records that a local priest told him that disease was caused by the bites of mosquitos which had fed upon putrid matter. Empirically, he thus almost hit upon the truths discovered more than a century later by Ross.

Side by side with revolting and useless prescriptions, we find remarkably sound methods of treating wounds antiseptically, by cleansing with alcohol and dressing with preparations of pine and elder.

An important chapter is that on the elements of Folk Christianity and its relation to magic in which the influence of various heretical sects, who predated the Orthodox missionaries, is traced, and special attention directed to the Bogomil or Bulgar heresy. But the author points out that many minor customs, sometimes classed among 'superstitious abuses' are, in fact, inherited from the earliest Christian period. Having described the theory, the author then tells of the practice of medicine and surgery by the barber and the local

doctor, their instruments and methods; and gives lively accounts of the individuals, both Christian and Mahomedan, Slav and Albanian who told her their secrets. The sources of ancient magic and medicine are also traced. Massage, fumigation, and steam baths are largely employed. It is interesting to find that the influence of the mind upon the body is fully recognized and illnesses ascribed to anxiety, sorrow, and, above all, to terror (*straha*, *strava*), which is personified as a form of demon. This throws a grim light on the conditions of life in the Balkans. We have only recently learnt the effect of *straha* in the form of air raids, upon children.

The lines

"Sorrow caused her head to ache

And from her head it went to her belly."

have much truth in them.

The peasant is popularly supposed to be hardy and healthy. My experience in Montenegro and elsewhere led me to think that there was a great deal of neurasthenia, especially among the women, caused by severe toil, the struggle to live, frequent danger and incessant child bearing and lactation.

It is tempting to quote freely from this storehouse of knowledge but space does not permit it. As medicine as a modern science did not begin to penetrate the Balkans till well into the nineteenth century, and then spread but slowly, the field chosen by Miss Kemp is a rich one and she has garnered a large harvest of Folk medicine before it was yet too late. A choice example of the impact of new knowledge upon ancient lore is that of a seeress at Sarajevo, who, after performing a magic ritual, assured her patient that "the evil baksil (*bacillus*)" has now left you." But we must refer the reader to the book itself. Its value has been much increased by the addition of an extensive bibliography of Serbian, Bulgarian and other works quoted and consulted and by a good index. M. E. DURHAM.

**A. R. Wright: British Calendar Customs.** Edited by T. E. Lones, with preface by S. H. Hooke. London, Glazier, for the Folklore Society, 1936. (Vol. I; *Movable Festivals*). xvi + 212 pp. 8 plates. Price 13s.

The life-work of the late Mr. Wright, long editor of *Folklore* and for some years President of the Folk-Lore Society, was left incomplete at his lamented death, and its continuation was therefore the most obvious and unavoidable inheritance of the Society. To judge by the present volume (No. 97 of the Society's publications), the task is to be carried out well, but not perfectly; this book has in it much to be commended and much that will be useful to students of the subject; but there is also a certain amount which better editing would have got rid of, to the advantage of all concerned.

'Movable' festivals are chiefly those whose occurrence depends on the date of Easter, with the addition of a few, such as Harvest Home, which depend on the weather. Mr. Wright had collected a large amount of printed material relating to these, and this is set out in due order, with some additions made since his death. So far, well, especially as the extracts are carefully dated and the references given are for the most part exact; the reader is no longer irritated by seeing, what so often confronts him in collections of this kind, that the information is taken from 'a diarist,' 'a chronicle'



or the like; he is fairly told what diarist, or chronicle, or newspaper, or other authority, good or bad, has been excerpted, and is thus put in a position to judge the worth of the statement; for neither author nor editor has been content to select, and therefore, as is proper, accounts good and bad, vague and precise, matter-of-fact and sentimental, are all to be found here. It is not a history of English folk custom, but a volume of materials for one. For the same reason, little is attempted by way of interpretation.

It is therefore to be regretted that so little has been done to rid the book, not of ill-recorded facts, which are better than none at all, but of speculations dating from pre-scientific days and breathing the spirit of those happy times when everything not understood could be conveniently explained away as a survival of something classical (for choice, something which the writer's classical knowledge was not exact enough to state clearly) or by an etymology on a par with the derivation of 'periwig' from *periwinkle*. It will hardly be credited that on p. 186 of a book published in this year of grace and in the name of a learned society the editor, in his own person, suggests that the Kern Doll and similar figures represent Ceres. It is true he gets this preposterous statement from the first of the extracts printed on the same page; but there it has its excuses, for the extract dates from 1598, long before any scientific study of the religions of Europe had been made. He would have done better to remove it from the citation than to repeat it as if it had some possibility of being right. Things equally absurd occur on pp. 73 (buns on Good Friday) and 90 (alleged opinions of 'the ancients,' as if that were the name of a homogeneous body of thought, concerning eggs). As for etymologies why, on p. 19, indulge in vague speculations concerning the origin of the Cornish word *colperra*, instead of taking the opinion of one of the several quite competent Professors of Keltic in this country? On p. 89 and elsewhere, the reader has a right to be told, when the

etymology of an English word is in question, what a good modern authority, preferably the N.E.D., has to say about it. In this particular case, Bede's etymology of Easter from Eostre may be right, but to call him 'one of the most learned of ancient writers' is absurd, and the other etymologies given are not 'less satisfactory' but merely impossible. On p. 146, why waste space in chronicling that some one writing in 1778 imagined that youling appletrees could have something to do with the name of Aiolos, or as he calls him, Eolus? Such things belong to the history of philology, not to folklore. On p. 155, there should be at least a foot-note to say that a mystery-(properly mistery) play has nothing to do with theological or other mysteries, but is a play put on by a trade-guild, a *magisterium*.

Leaving these defects, which reflect less credit than one would like to give on the diligence of the editor, mention may be made of a few passages which contain no mistakes but might be improved by a word of comment, since comment is not altogether excluded. On pp. 1-2, the practice of forming one side in a game from boys who bear certain very common names has Welsh parallels, in place when Cornwall is in question. On p. 35, should it not be noted that the game of kit-cat is an ancestor of baseball and rounders? On p. 59 the curious custom of 'seeking the golden arrow' is reported from Shropshire; it seems worth suggesting that the phrase originally referred to the prize in an archery contest. On p. 66, the reviewer does not understand the meaning of the clause 'following the quaint reading 'so often quoted.' A reading of what, and quoted where? On p. 73, a very brief inspection is enough to show that the 'old rhyme' cited is a passable Popian couplet, a little corrupted, and so hardly of popular origin.

Misprints are very uncommon, but on p. 123, line 4 of the second paragraph, *quasi modo* should be two words, not one.

H. J. ROSE.

## RACE.

**Anatomie der Japaner.** By Professor Buntaro Adachi, Professor of Anatomy, Imperial University of Kyoto. First Part. "Das Arteriensystem der Japaner," (with the Collaboration of Prof. Kotondo Hasebe). In Two Volumes: I Vol., xiii + 440; II Vol., ix + 353, both volumes with 539 illustrations, mostly in black and four plates in colours. Second Part: "Das Venensystem der Japaner." First Issue: 87 pages with 28 plates, mostly in colour, containing 103 illustrations. The first part published in Kyoto 1928, the second part 1933, as special volumes of the "Acta Scholæ Medicinæ Universitatis Imperialis Kyoto." Size, 11 by 16½ inches. No price stated.

These three splendid volumes in tall imperial folio represent really a great man's life work of such a size that it is not easy to do it full justice in a review. The results of forty years' patient work and experience are presented here to prove, so to say, Prof. Adachi's own dictum, stated many years ago, that 'Human Anatomy' is in fact only an 'Anatomy of the White Race' and not an 'Anatomy of Man,' i.e., not an Anatomy doing justice to the morphology of all the races of mankind, or as Sir Arthur Keith called it (in his preface to Loth's *Anthropologie des Parties Molles*, Paris, 1931) an 'International Anatomy.' Adachi's work is, in fact, a comparison of the whole range of variation of the blood

vascular system in Japanese and in Europeans, hence of much importance to every anatomist and to those anthropologists whose interests go beyond the narrow limits of pure osteometry and craniology. The material collected by Prof. Adachi, his co-workers and pupils is very rich, and thus gives a good foundation for the study of the so-called racial differences in the anatomy of the two compared races. In studies like that it is, of course, always an indispensable preliminary, a postulate, that each single item of variation be represented by a sufficient number of cases, in order to give, as far as possible, full guarantee that the respective variations are really racial, i.e., based on hereditary factors. As a matter of course, Genetics in Man and, in fact, not only Genetics, but the whole of Human Biology, are in comparison with Botany or Zoology in a disadvantageous position, for, with the exception of serology, they lack experiments and have thus no means to prove their statements as to the 'racial' (i.e., 'hereditary') quality of any given peculiarity. Hence a sufficient number of cases gives at least a good approach to security and, in this respect, Adachi's work does full justice to the above postulate.

The first volume of the *Arteriensystem der Japaner* gives an exact description of all the varieties of the aorta, aortic arch and its branches, arteries of the



head, neck, shoulders and upper extremity, the second volume the arteries of the thorax, abdomen, pelvis and lower extremity. A special and very important chapter gives in full detail, with the respective percentages, an exposition of all the differences between the Japanese and the European anatomy, and occasional comparisons with the data in Negroes, Chinese, etc. The first issue—all that has been, so far, published—of the 'Venensystem' 'der Japaner' gives exact data on the variations in pulmonary veins together with their respective connection with the myocardium and the respective topography of the bronchi, arteries and veins of the lungs. Further, a special chapter (by Prof. Mochizuki of Tokyo) on the veins of the heart and chapters on the Cava sup. and on the Anonymæ.

Adachi's work is of considerable importance for anthropologists interested in the question of races of Man. Some of the variations, as described by Adachi, are *more frequent in Japanese* than in Europeans, others, on the contrary, *more frequent in Europeans* than in Japanese. This shows plainly that we have to be very careful in labelling any of the varieties found in Man from the point of view of morphology as being of a 'primitive' or 'progressive' character. Adachi himself states (faithful rendering by the reviewer of the German original text) "that the occurrence of varieties in the races compared—i.e., Japanese and Europeans"—does not show, as to their frequency, any particular differences, so that in both races the same numbers of primitive features may be found" (Adachi, *Arteries*, II, p. 340); further, "both races" show with regard to their arteries about the same "level of development" (*l.c.* p. 309), and "it is therefore not possible to state a distinct order of evolution in the three races, here compared (i.e., Japanese, Europeans and Negroes), hence Europeans are not a more progressive or the Negroes a more primitive race (*l.c.* p. 313)."

Reviewing the whole work of Adachi on the arteries and veins in Japanese and Europeans, and taking also into consideration Loth's work on the Anthropology of soft parts and some other papers on racial anatomy, as, for instance, G. A. Seib, *The argyos system of veins in American Whites and American Negroes* in the 'American Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 1934,' xix, p. 39-159, etc., we may perhaps be permitted to say that the careful study of all the anatomical varieties found, so far, in the various races of Man does not give us much justification to differentiate these races, from the point of view of phylogeny, as 'primitive' or 'progressive.' On the contrary, these most important studies on the anatomical variation in Man seem to bring, so far, full evidence that all the present races are of one stock, i.e., of monophyletic origin. For, with due regard to the teachings of Genetics, it is quite impossible to imagine that the primordial, hereditary basis which is, as a matter of course, the *unum necessarium* of all racial differences, should be different when we see plainly that all these variations have only a quantitative and

not a qualitative character. And this primordial, hereditary basis would be, of necessity, different if the different groups of mankind were of different stock. A careful scrutiny of, for instance, the variations in the muscular system of Man demonstrates, in some cases, that we have to take into consideration almost the whole order of mammalian if we are to understand some of the occasionally found types of variations! These general considerations on the morphology of races in Man get their corroboration by the additional evidence of some of the biological results of the study of races. It suffices to remember Nuttall's work and his 'mammalian reaction' (George H. F. Nuttall, *Blood Immunity and Blood Relationship*, Cambridge, 1904) and, later on, the work of Sutherland, Uhlenhuth, Mollison and several others on the blood relationship in man and primates, and in the different races of Man.

Though we have, quite in accord with Adachi, no hesitation in considering all the variations and comparisons of variations between Japanese and Europeans from the point of phylogeny as of equal standing, we find in the reviewed work some striking differences. As, for instance, in the topography of the A. maxillaris interna. Adachi had 331 cases in Japanese and, for comparison, 740 cases in Europeans. Only in 6 per cent. of the cases was the Arteria maxill. interna *medial* of the Musculus pterygoideus externus in Japanese, whereas in Europeans the respective figure was 58 per cent. The difference in the percentage of occurrence is quite considerable and is, of course, for the present, only a statement of facts without any possibility of an explanation.

The whole work of Adachi enlarges, to a great extent, our knowledge of the variations in Man and there is no doubt it is also a great incentive for further research on some other groups of mankind, so as to get the full range of variation in Man. Furthermore, as a matter of course, this kind of work has not only its great importance for the whole realm of theoretical studies of Man, but also for practical ends, and especially for surgery. The illustrations are very clear and show, especially in some of the plates, a really artistic vein, so that, in comparison with these, some of the illustrations in European textbooks of anatomy look somewhat clumsy. The author found in Mr. Harô Adachi a competent draughtsman and in Mr. Tsuyao Yamamoto not only a master-engraver in wood (in some instances reminding one of the old Japanese artists) but also a brave man, who during the terrible upheaval of the 1923 earthquake in Tokyo saved Professor Adachi's priceless original drawings. The cost of the publishing must have been quite considerable and reflects great credit on the munificence of the public funds in Japan. There is no doubt that the whole work, with its summaries, illustrations and clear expositions will be a great help in this particular field of work, and there is also no doubt that the whole is a testimony to Professor Buntaro Adachi's great work and life.

V. SUK.



**Swedes of To-day.** Portraits reproduced in collotype from crayon drawings by the artist Ivar Kamke, with explanatory text and short biographies by Professor Herman Lundborg. New York and London: Stechert, 1935. 16 x 12 in. 30 pp., with 45 plates.

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The preparation of this sumptuously produced volume, which has already appeared in one Swedish and one German edition, is said to have been a national task, and the outcome is more eulogic than severely descriptive in style. The selection of the persons portrayed was guided by 'anthropological and race-biological' as well as by artistic considerations, and they are 'mostly of the 'Nordic or predominantly Nordic type.' In drawing his beautiful portraits the artist was evidently intent on artistic values and characterization, so that no attempt was made to standardize the aspects of the heads drawn. Professor Lundborg's text provides a general discussion of some eugenic and racial questions. He deplores, once more, the fact that the fittest and most able members of European countries to-day tend to be less successful biologically than the unfit in being less fertile. It is contended that "strong and continued crossing between two or more different races, as a rule is unfavourable," and this affords justification for advocating the prevention of mixture with that race which predominates in the Swedish people. "History, anthropology, and race-biology bear common evidence of the tenacious strength, enterprising spirit, intelligence, and organizing talent of the Nordic race."

A further consideration was evidently taken into account in selecting the 45 men whose portraits are given. The notes on them indicate that they have all achieved distinction above the average in one direction or another. A rough classification shows that 11 are distinguished in politics or law, 9 in finance or industry, 7 in literature or art, 6 in medicine or science, 6 in technology, 4 in the army or navy, and the remaining two in theology. Nearly all the members of this select company are said to have been born in the country, and many are of peasant stock. In the short biographies their hair and eye colours and four measurements are given. Nothing is done with these data, but a reduction of them appears to be of some interest. The following averages are found for the 45 subjects: stature 1,778, head length 199.5, head breadth 157.5, cephalic index 79.0, and face (bizygomatic) breadth 145.6. The averages of these measurements given in *The Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation* for nearly 47,000 recruits between the ages of 20 and 22 from all parts of Sweden are 1,722, 193.8, 150.4, 77.7, and 136.0, respectively. It can be shown that for all the characters except the cephalic index the difference between the successful men and the general population, represented by the recruits, is considerably greater than any which could be attributed to chance selection of the series, age differences, or selection of the former series from any particular region. Are we to conclude, then, that these data demonstrate that men of distinction are taller and have larger heads, on the average, than the man in the street? It would be unsafe to do so as size may have been one of the features which was taken into consideration when subjects of the 'Nordic type' were selected.

G. M. MORANT.

**Race and Culture.** Printed for the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Institute of Sociology. London, N.D. 1-24 pp. Price 1s.

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The general observation that white or yellow people, or fair or dark people are now, or once were, associated with a particular civilization has led to a widespread view that race and culture are intimately

connected, and this has led many to suppose that people with certain physical characters have also certain associated innate capacities for particular cultural developments. This latter is a plausible doctrine, very flattering to powerful nations, and especially to the class of people who imagine that they are typical of what is best in these nations. Starting with de Gobineau in 1853, and continuing through the work of Ammon, Lapouge, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the idea has grown up that the brave, blond, dolichocephalic, blue-eyed, dashing, athletic Protestant Nordic has all sorts of superior capacities for developing the most desirable variety of civilization, and this notion has affected the United States immigration laws, and the present policy of Germany.

The question arises whether we are behaving like M. Lévy-Bruhl's prelogical savage, participating too much in the object under observation, or in other words, confusing our object with our attitude towards it. Or is there some truth in the view that race and culture are closely related?

In 1934, the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Institute of Sociology set up a committee to consider the significance of the racial factor in cultural development, a committee representing every branch of Anthropology.

The first task undertaken was the clarification of the term 'race,' and this pamphlet is almost wholly devoted to definitions by different members, though suggested definitions of culture and population are included.

All are unanimous in restricting the word 'race' for the present to the Physical Anthropologist, and one general view is roughly that it means a combination of descriptive and measurable physical and heritable characters, and that, except in isolated groups, its existence in anything like a pure form can be determined satisfactorily only by statistical methods. One member insists that we must refer this combination to habitat, now or in the past. This is usual, and advisable, if we are not to admit races of albinos, deaf-mutes, etc. Others express the fear that statistical averages may obscure the fact that several diverse strains may persist side by side within an interbreeding population. Certainly it is true that certain forms of skull, for example, cannot be expressed in terms of measurement. My own experience of Mesopotamian crania has shown immeasurable peculiarities persisting from 3500 B.C. until now. But as far as measurements are concerned, the whole effort and effect of statistical treatment is to prevent the ignoring of such diversities as are mentioned.

It is generally recognized that in our present state of knowledge we are dependent on physical characters, though in time to come, innate psychological characters may be found to differentiate races. At present, it is useless to do as Günther does in his *Rassenkunde Europas*, and tack cultural or national characters on to physical types. Until it is possible to develop a standardization of criteria for physiological and psychological data similar to that employed in physical measurements, and to treat such data quantitatively by statistical methods, we cannot possibly connect psychological and cultural traits with somatic forms, and develop Captain Pitt-Rivers' science of Ethnogenics, the study of human history in terms of changing race, population, and culture.

Certain of the Committee prefer to define race as "a biological group or stock possessing in common an undetermined number of associated genetical characteristics by which it can be distinguished from other groups, and by which its descendants will be



"distinguished under conditions of continuous isolation." This is an ideal definition, and may, in time, when the study of human genetics has developed far beyond our present knowledge, become the standard. The proviso that descendants will be distinguished under conditions of continuous isolation, however, might demand rigorous experiment in a human 'zoo,' or the happy circumstance of pockets of undiluted types. Otherwise, apart from isolated groups, the pure state must be statistically determined, as in the previous definition, and the results equated as near as may be with the isolated groups which most nearly agree.

It is to be hoped that a future pamphlet will discuss 'culture,' and that yet another will investigate the possibilities of studying the relations of races and cultures. At present we can speak of a 'culture' as a mixture of material and spiritual traits showing a particular pattern, and it would appear that this subject for the time being was less closely connected than we could wish with the study of physical characters. But the authors, speaking of the conditioning factors of culture, mention innate endowment of individuals, transmitted experience, and physical environment.

Of these, the first two, and especially the first, point to Psychology as the link between Physical and Cultural Anthropology. If this is to be studied usefully, standardized criteria must be developed; and the relations between physiological and psychological phenomena, and beliefs underlying institutions must be studied quantitatively, and rigorously analysed by statistical methods, taking such precautions as we can to prevent confusing phenotypes with genotypes. This work would perhaps be easiest at present in the pockets of comparatively undiluted types, and results so obtained might point the way to useful study of more mixed groups. It is a large programme, but Galton and Pearson have shown the way; we have eternity before us, and the prize is a great one. Our greatest need to-day is to understand ourselves and other nations, and to put a just value on our own and their efforts. The Committee has set to work in the right way by defining its terms, and outlining the content of its investigation.

T. K. PENNIMAN.

#### Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit.

By Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt, viii + 936 pp., 18 x 26 cms., with 613 illustrations, 3 tables and 8 coloured maps. Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1934.

Dr. von Eickstedt's great work has appeared in parts so that our appetite has been whetted but unsatisfied; now we can look at this book as a whole. It is a magnificent work, thoroughly illustrated both by diagrams and photographs the standard of which leaves little to be desired, many are from the author's own camera. The greater number of the maps are also original. The whole work is most extensively documented and as the references are in the form of footnotes they are more easily accessible than in Martin's *Lehrbuch*, whose bibliography is notably difficult to explore. The general arrangement of the work combines the history, the geographical surroundings and a description of the varieties of mankind. It is exhaustive and thorough and the information is clearly set out. As far as could be seen there is little or no propaganda, and in those matters where political difficulties might be apprehended the author most tactfully is reticent and brief. One cannot but realize that it must have been difficult to write a textbook of this description under a certain environment, but the author has succeeded by his wise silence. It would hardly be fair in so vast a work to criticize details, but as an example the coloured map of Africa before

recent colonization, suggests the continent in a very plural period with rivers in wadis which have been dry valleys for a long time, a geographical background which is likely to be misleading to the student to whom presumably the book is mainly addressed. The general scheme of the work is to give the geographical background, the history of each group of mankind and its physical characters. Although an account of the somatic characters of the various peoples is given the book is not primarily a work of physical anthropology and what the author calls racial history is perhaps somewhat misleading to those of us who look on race primarily as a biological problem. The geographic background is used to show the effect which may result on migrations and indeed in the building of nations, but not for the most part on race itself. But it is probable that this is rather owing to the interpretation of the meaning of race by the author, and after all he can well define so controversial a term as he prefers for his own purposes, than to a lack of realization of the importance of problem of man's relation physically to his background. The terms which he uses are open sometimes to criticism. In Africa for example he includes the following groups on the basis of their physical form, Europide, Negride, and Mongolide, and within the second, Bantuide, Sudaneide, Nilotide, Palenegrade, Æthipide, and Pygmide, some of which terms appear to be mainly geographical, some linguistic, and some definitely zoological, if this term may be used. On the other hand for South America, Zentralide, Andide, Pamptide, Brasilide, Lagide are all geographical. The whole problem of correlations between nationality, language, location, and physical form are still extremely controversial and likely to remain so for a long time. The author of the present work has done much to clarify the position but it would be a still further advance had he seen his way to adopt a wider extension of terms with a single connotation than he has done, even where there was a complete or almost complete correlation between the various factors. He is to be congratulated on a very learned work which will doubtless be of great value to students.

L. H. D. B.

#### L'Ethnie Française. Dr. George Montandon. Paris, 1935. 237 pp. 30 francs.

For Montandon *une Ethnie* is a group sufficiently characterized by widespread physical, linguistic and cultural similarities to have its distinctness generally recognized; that is certainly a welcome relief from current talk about Latin and Germanic Races and the like. Having defined the *Ethnie*, perhaps with too little reference to the common consciousness of its members, the author proceeds to study the physical types within the *Ethnie française*. He visualizes bundles of characters handed on from generation to generation in individuals and reinforced by the endogamy, in a broad sense, that accompanies local intermarriage. The book is an attempt to expound in an interesting fashion some of the more important bundles of physical characters that are widespread in different parts of France and to illustrate the arguments by photographs of well-known public men who thus show forth the contributions of all racial types concerned to the political and cultural life of France. It is based on data that Collignon collected long ago. The reviewer doubts the opinion given that, in coastal Brittany, there is merely an extension of the zone of Alpine types, even with the allowance of a Dinaric admixture. The stalwart brachycephals there are worth study for their own sake. The author attempts to sum up his general conclusions in a map of racial types in France that in interesting and most provocative. Chapters on Belgium and on French Canada are given.

H. J. F.



**L'ogénèse culturelle: Traité d'ethnologie cyclo-culturelle et d'ogologie systématique.**  
 By George Montandon. Paris, Payot, 1934.  
 110 778 pp., plates, maps, bibliographies.  
 Price 100 frs.

Hologenesis (Rosa) implies descent of groups by dichotomy from the general mass of a pre-existing group rather than from a variant or a small group of similar variants. Montandon, like Elliot Smith and many others, visualizes a primary collecting phase (1) of society and supposes that dichotomy has given several Kulturkreise or Cycles culturels (2-12) which he builds up on Graebner and Schmidt. 1 includes pigmies, bushmen, some central African negroes, Veddahs, Senoi, Toala, Tasmanians. 2 is 'old-Australian,' with the boomerang. There are traces in Melanesia, Polynesia, E. & S.E. South America, California, S. Africa and the Sudd. 3 is the Totemic Cycle in parts of the Pacific (also influencing N. and Central Australia), the lesser Moluccas, parts of Sumatra, India and E. Africa and the centre of S. America. 4 is the Paleo-Matriarchal or Two-Class Cycle mixing with 3 in what has become U.S.A. It occurs in New Britain, Banks Island and the Northern New Hebrides, in Sumatra, Assam, parts of S. India, and mixed with

the Neo-Matriarchal or Flat-Bow Cycle (5) it is important in the Congo-Guinea area. 5 characterizes West New Guinea and covers 3 and 4 in many parts of Malanesia, it occurs in Indonesia and parts of S. India, and in the Guyano-Amazon forest. 6a (Austronesoid) belongs to Polynesia, East Indies, Madagascar. 6b is Soudanoid, giving an interesting *rapprochement*. 7a is arctic and subarctic and 7b pastoral of central Asia, and the eastern horn of Africa. 8 is Mexican-Andine, with large Trans-Pacific importations, 9 Sino-Japanese, 10 Indoid, 11 Islamoid and 12 Europoid and the 4 major civilizations. The experienced student will take the scheme (1-7 at least) very lightly but one foresees disaster should a doctrinaire or a beginner insist on fitting the infinite variety of human achievement into this frame. The second part of the book takes up one after another features of material culture and follows them through the types of civilizations previously classified. It is a most suggestive work, however much one may hesitate about the utility of his cycle 7, and perhaps also 6. A large number of folder maps of distributions will be much valued, if sometimes as bases of constructive criticism. Whatever reserves we may have, it is a book to possess for reference on many points. H. J. FLEURE.

#### GENERAL.

**Handbook of Travel.** Edited by G. C. Shattuck. Second edition. Cambridge, Mass. University Press (London, Humphrey Milford), 1935. 6½ × 4½ in. 510 pp. 12s. 6d. net.

These are 'notes' without 'queries,' but the price is higher, and unlike our own *Notes and Queries*, instruction for action predominates over incentive to inquiry, though this is not lacking. Anthropology occupies only about 25 pages, this section being drawn up by E. A. Hooton, A. M. Tozzer, and the late R. B. Dixon. The instructions given here are sound, and cover—thinly—most of the field, including archaeology. *Notes and Queries* is recommended for use in the field, but it seems strange to see it assigned to J. G. Carson and C. H. Read, the compilers of the first edition. The book as a whole has a fascination, as well as a value, only equalled by that of its parts, and one skims through the contents with a feeling of incipient enterprise. The first two chapters deal with travel by automobile and by aeroplane, and only later do we descend to pack-horses, dromedaries, reindeer, and llamas. Then we pass to sleds, skis, snowshoes, and canoes, with motor-boats for

those in a hurry. Camp-cooking, hunting and fishing, lead us to the pursuit of 'dangerous game,' and we are told how to confine the danger, as far as possible, to the game. Photography, geography, geology, natural history collecting, anthropology, meteorological observations, hygiene, medicine and surgery, occupy rather more than the second half of the book, a sub-title of which might well have been 'How to get anywhere, by any means, do anything, and still keep fit.'

H. S. HARRISON.

**Guide to the Collection Illustrating Welsh Folk Crafts and Industries.** Cardiff, National Museum of Wales, 1935. 8½ × 5½. xv + 75 pp., pls. 16, 5 illustrations in text. 1s. 6d.

This is an excellent example of a guide to a National Museum. Each section has a descriptive chapter giving the geographical distribution and national history (with some foreign references) of the craft concerned, with short technical notes, illustrated by references to specimens in the Folk Industries Gallery. The photographs at the end are clear and well chosen. H. C. L.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

##### Associations.

113 Sir,—I am surprised that 'Notes and Queries' gives no definition of an 'Association.' A study of the forms and functions of Primitive groups embraces the whole of Social Anthropology. Defining terms are therefore of value in setting limits (necessarily artificial) for the study of special types of groupings.

I think that the significance of the term 'Association' should be reserved for institutionalized groups of individuals whose connection does not depend upon Kinship. What is required is a measure of agreement as to where the arbitrary line dividing an institutionalized from a non-institutionalized group is to be drawn. The

degree to which a group has become formalized must be judged by such factors as name, insignia, initiation, taboos, recognition of specific functions or anything else of a formal character which marks off members from non-members.

MacIver's definition of an Association as "An organization of social beings for the pursuit of some common interest or interests," does not seem adequate, since it lays all the emphasis on the function of the association from the point of view of the individual members.

But more important than the definition of an Association is a classification of the aspects from which it is to be viewed. Of these there seem to be three:—



*A. Basis of Membership* :—Age, birth, wealth, physical or physiological abnormalities, peculiar experiences, territorial contiguity, etc.

*B. Function* :—Both internally as affecting members, and externally as affecting the whole tribe.

*C. Maintenance of Unity* :—In addition to *A* and *B*, cohesion may be achieved by initiation, mutilations, esoteric education, a common name, symbol dress or decorations, special privileges, taboos, obligations, mystical protectors associated with masks, periodic rites, secret languages and other forms of secrecy.

These three factors—common basis of membership, function and unifying procedure—are interrelated, and any particular group differs as to which is chiefly emphasized. The strong groups, such as Nations, lay great stress on all three. It is of particular interest to notice that the psychological or emotional components created by *C* may function in their own right. Excessive Nationalism, created by the various forms of propaganda to achieve greater integration for economic or defence reasons, may become wedded to an aggressive idealism and function in its own right apart from economic considerations.

I merely wished to draw attention to the grossly neglected subject of Associations, which forms the chief link between Social Anthropology and Sociology.

Peterhouse, Cambridge.

T. T. STEIGER.

**Is the Savage a Scientist?** (*Cf.* MAN, 1935, 184, 193, 194, 212, and 1936, 16, 17, 46.)

**114** SIR,—I would be grateful if it were found possible to print this my *final* note on the subject—Is the Savage a Scientist?

The correspondence on this subject would appear to sum up to our old friend, the priority of the hen or the egg. As I see it, Lord Raglan says that wealth and leisure produce inventions, and Mr. Digby, myself, and, I suspect, a number of others feel that, if they enter into the matter at all, the reverse is the case; and in any case it is difficult to see how his instances of beehives and motor-cars support unquestionably *his* guesses about the origin of bows or boats.

D. H. GORDON.

**Glacials and Pluvials, A Correction.** (*Cf.* MAN, 1936, 20.)

**115** SIR,—In the article, *Glacials and Pluvials*, MAN, 1936, 20, there is one mistake in the Table which might lead to some confusion to readers. In the column for Equatorial Belt (E. Africa), second division from the top, the term 'Nakuran wet phase' is misprinted for 'Makalian wet phase.' The Climatic Optimum of North Europe and the so-called 'Neolithic' wet phase of Saharan latitudes are to be equated with the Makalian and not the Nakuran in East Africa. The Nakuran and oscillations following it probably represent more recent events (post Climatic Optimum).

S. A. HUZAYYIN.

**A Carved Wooden Statuette from the Sepik River, New Guinea.** (*cf.* MAN, 1935, 161.)

**116** SIR,—In reference to the wooden figure (MAN, 1935, 161, Plate K.), permit me to call Mr. Beasley's attention to the passage in Reche's book, *Der Kaiserin Augusta Fluss*, where the keloids of the Middle Sepik are figured, pp. 109-112, figs. 69-76. The practice of scarification is well known in this area and the resulting scars are usually represented on carvings of male figures, especially on the breasts, the right shoulder, the back, the right buttock and round the navel. In some cases the keloids are carved on female figures, but this is less usual. It is a pity that Mr. Beasley does not state

the sex of his figure, as the large breasts are not, according to the local artistic conventions, a sufficient indication of female sex.

But, even though keloids occur in parts of the Sepik area, there are also peoples in this area who lack this trait; and it is possible that Mr. Beasley is right in saying that "the dotted line on the breast and arm is "purely ornamental." We may take it as probable that these marks (and also the marks on the left buttock, just visible on Plate K.) are keloid derivatives. But as there is no evidence that the figure was actually made in one of the places where scarification is practised, it is possible that it comes from some other spot where the natives do not scarify, but have adopted the marks as conventional ornaments in carving.

It is interesting that Mr. Beasley's figure shows the keloids on the *left* arm and *left* buttock, a peculiarity which would be the mark of a left-handed man among the Iatmul. The pattern of the keloids, however, differs markedly from those cut by the Iatmul, and it is unfortunate that the beautiful figure is not accompanied by information as to its origin and significance.

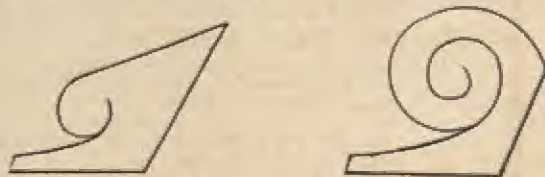
GREGORY BATESON.

**An unusual type of African Dugout Canoe.** (*Cf.* MAN, 1936, 52.)

**117** SIR,—The dugout canoes commonly carried by Arab vessels trading in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and along the coast of East Africa, are closely related in construction to the dugout obtained by Mr. A. E. Robinson (MAN, 1936, 52) on the Baro; they are generally purchased originally on the West Coast of India, in Bombay, and the Malabar ports in particular, by Arab merchants and sailors. Thence they are carried away in their *baggalas* (or *baghlas*) as part of their lading. Some are carried direct to Zanzibar, but the majority are transported to ports in the Persian Gulf and there sold as merchandise. On the Malabar coast they go by the name of *ballam*, which in the mouths of Englishmen in Iraq becomes corrupted into *bellum*.

From this type of Indian dugout, the one described by Mr. Robinson appears to be derived. Both have sharp and pointed ends, notched above, as shown in Mr. Robinson's sketch, and have carved out ribs in one with the dugout hull. Both, too, have holes bored transversely through the ends. The differences are two: in the *ballam* the sides are parallel, not curved, and the ribs are quite broad and massive, without taper.

The notching of the ends on the upper side in the African example is thoroughly characteristic of the Malabar *ballam*. In the latter each is intended to seat a small figurehead of one or other of the forms shown in the accompanying sketch.



THE MALABAR BALLAM: TWO FORMS OF FIGURE-HEAD.

There seems little doubt that the design of the African dugout is a modification of the common type of Indian *ballam*, hewn out by a man who at some time had seen some of the little dugouts used as ship's tenders by Arab vessels trading on the African coast. Obviously the hewn-out 'ribs' are vestigial, as their slender proportions render them valueless for the purpose they play in the parent type.

JAMES HORNELL.









PROFESSOR KARL PEARSON.



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Obituary.

With Plate F.

Morant.

PROFESSOR KARL PEARSON. *By G. M. Morant.*

**118** Since the early days of the Royal Society, there can have been few English writers, if any, who have made notable contributions to so many branches of science as Professor Karl Pearson did. Mathematical, physical, biological and social sciences were all within his scope, and he worked to influence the development of all these. Having been a junior assistant of his, the present writer has some sort of claim to express an opinion on his work for anthropology, but not for any other subject. The professor remarked, when writing the life of Galton: "Nor again is it easy to portray the essential features of a man who is at least one generation older than yourself. There are in life two barriers between man and man more marked, perhaps, than any others, the reticence of age to youth, and the reticence of age to age."

Karl Pearson was born in London on March 27th, 1857. Both his parents were of Yorkshire descent and he once said that he had inherited some *fraction* of his father's capacity for hard work. If so William Pearson, K.C., must have been a remarkably hard worker. His son was educated at University College School and, after a year under a private tutor, he entered King's College, Cambridge, in 1875. He became third Wrangler and was elected a Fellow of his College in 1879. After Cambridge he went to Germany, studying physics and metaphysics at Heidelberg and Roman Law and biology at Berlin. In 1882 he was called to the bar of the Inner Temple, but his proper workplace was evidently found when, at the age of 27, he was appointed to the Chair of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics at University College, London. His department gradually expanded and took on new activities. A biometric laboratory was started in 1902, by virtue of a grant made by the Drapers' Company, and in the syllabus of the Department for 1908-1909 the Francis Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics is first mentioned. On Galton's death in 1911 he left the residue of his estate for its upkeep, and for the establishment and endowment of the Galton Professorship of Eugenics. In the same year the Department of Applied Statistics, containing the Biometric and Galton Laboratories, was founded, and the new institute was essentially concerned with research. The first Galton Professor retired in 1933 from the Chair which had been made for him, but he continued his labours in a room of the College until within a few months of his death which occurred on April 27th last in his eightieth year. Always looking towards the future, he had had visions of an institute in which research would be carried on in all branches of the science of man, co-ordinated and unified by the common use of that statistical technique which he had developed. The Museum of his department illustrated this conception, and the specimens in it ranged from coliths to pedigrees which are still being followed up. The traces of the wagon he had hitched to *that* star broke, but two of the existing departments at University College—those of Statistics and Eugenics—would not be there to-day but for him. His collection there of human skulls and skeletons is one of the largest in the world, and its English and Egyptian series are far longer than any others preserved.

Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1896, Karl Pearson was awarded the Society's Darwin medal two years later. As anthropologist, he was awarded the Huxley medal of the Anthropological



Institute in 1903, he was the first foreigner to receive (in 1932) the Rudolf Virchow medal of the Berlin Anthropological Society, he was President of section H of the British Association in 1920, and he delivered the Henderson Trust lecture in 1926. Honours were also paid to him for his work as mathematician, eugenicist and sociologist, and as a writer on medical subjects. All who knew K.P. must know that he never sought any medal or other honour, and, apart from real merit, he was less likely than most leaders of science to receive any, for his work was too much his own to make it possible for him to work within the bounds of any scientific society.

The earliest writings of Karl Pearson which can appear in his bibliography were published in 1880, when he was in his twenty-fourth year. From then until the present year he produced a continuous stream of publications dealing with most diverse subjects. Though the change in their nature was gradual, it is convenient to consider these in three periods. The writings of the first period, from 1880 to 1891, consist of purely literary productions (including poems), articles on socialism, university reform, mediæval Germany and kindred subjects, and a number of contributions to pure and applied mathematics. Before 1892 he had published nothing on probability, the theory of statistics or biological science.

The appearance of the first edition of *The Grammar of Science* in that year showed, however, that he had already studied two of these subjects, and the two chapters added to the second edition (1900) dealt primarily with the application of statistical methods to biological problems. But from the beginning of this second period (1892-1900) Professor Karl Pearson was already writing and lecturing on statistics, and by the end of it eight of the numbered 'Mathematical Contributions to the Theory of Evolution' had appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*. These memoirs and papers (published chiefly in the *Proceedings* in the same years) carried the modern theory of statistics far beyond the initial stage for which Galton was chiefly responsible. The new theory was applied to a variety of subjects, but mainly to topics which ought to be included, the author maintained, within the scope of physical anthropology. Such were, principally, the statistical study of heredity, the correlations of physical characters, and special questions like the recon-

struction of stature from lengths of the long bones. It is not generally realized that those statistical methods which are now applied to a great variety of subjects were nearly all devised to provide solutions to some particular problems connected with the evolution of man. In these nine years the output of literary work was smaller, but there were some notable essays collected in the two volumes of *The Chances of Death and other Studies in Evolution* (1897), a work which includes the earliest adequate study ('Variation in Man and Woman'), using scientific measures of the variabilities of the 'populations' of the anthropologist. There were also a number of papers on researches in pure and applied mathematics and engineering.

The third, and last, period begins in 1901 because the first part of *Biometrika* was issued in that year. During it, writings by Professor Karl Pearson appeared occasionally in the publications of the Royal Society, but it was particularly in the journal of which he was one of the founders, always the principal editor and for many years the sole editor, that those who were following him looked for his work. Principally in it, and in the *Annals of Eugenics* and other publications of his laboratories, but also in other scientific journals as well, he developed the theory of statistics continuously and applied it to manifold anthropological, eugenic, medical, sociological, psychological, demographic, economic, botanical, zoological, meteorological and astronomical problems. His primary interest was in the human sciences and, apart from the theory of statistics, his interest became more and more centred in them in his later years. There were few purely literary productions in this last period—though sustained interest in historical research is sufficiently evidenced by memoirs on the crania of Lord Darnley, Robert the Bruce, George Buchanan and Oliver Cromwell—and only a few papers dealing with problems in applied mathematics and engineering. To it belongs the monumental biography *The Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton*, the first volume of which was published in 1914 and the third in 1930.

In attempting to estimate Karl Pearson's direct contribution to scientific research, not only his own writings but those of his co-workers and assistants, too, ought to be considered. Some subjects in which he was vitally interested are poorly represented in his bibliography. There are



at least two score craniometric papers, for example, which would never have been written but for inspiration and active help received from him. There is another difficulty, too, in summing up his contributions to a particular subject such as physical anthropology. He did not recognize the arbitrary divisions often made between different branches of what he called the science of man and, indeed, his own work went far towards breaking them down. The anthropological, the eugenic, the medical, the demographic, the psychological and the sociological fields were no longer considered as separate private reserves, but as forming different parts of the same estate. Researches in these fields should not only be co-ordinated ultimately, but often in the same particular inquiries. This was his teaching and his practice. Karl Pearson insisted on the need for measurement more forcibly than any of his predecessors had done, and he developed, from suggestions which had been made previously, a technique which added to, and in some case transformed, the methodology of several departments of knowledge. The calculus of probability was extended so that it could be applied to biological and social sciences, just as the calculus of causation is applied to physical sciences. He fashioned a new instrument, and showed how it should be used.

An article longer than this one would be required to convey any adequate idea of the results obtained by applying these new methods to particular problems. Two theses which the Professor maintained, and illustrated continually by new material, are that nature is stronger than nurture—far stronger, he concluded, than most people supposed—and that the physical characters hitherto used by the anthropologist are uncorrelated in the individual with mental characters. The physical anthropologist is concerned primarily with racial problems; these are group problems and the modern theory of statistics was particularly adapted by the late *doyen* of this science for dealing with them. He continually urged the needs for more exact techniques of measurement and for more abundant material.

Professor Karl Pearson was not only the principal contributor to the journals and series of occasional publications for which he was responsible, but he also edited them in a way peculiarly his own. By editing I do not mean only attendance to all those negotiations with the printers

which would ensure effective and correct reproduction of the copy, though wide experience of such matters doubtless enabled him to deal with them as few editors can. He considered *that* to be the lesser part of his task, and the greater part was the correction and improvement in other ways of the copy. One of his peculiarities was often to pay more attention to revision of proofs than of manuscripts, and one could never be sure that the last substantial modifications had been made until a paper was actually published. The Editor of *Biometrika* had a very different conception of the progress of scientific thought and discovery from that popular one which supposes that there is a firmly established corpus of knowledge to which additions may be made continuously—brick by brick, as it were. For him little was established: most dogmas were not dogmas for him, and when dealing with new contributions one felt that he considered that the die was weighted in favour of error rather than truth. It was in this frame of mind that he *worked* on every paper submitted to him for publication. Many new contributors must have been surprised to receive detailed criticisms instead of an unconditional acceptance, and it is to be feared that some did not appreciate them. There were few who did not appreciate in the end the advantage to their studies gained from his inspiring and unstinted help.

Anyone who worked with 'the Professor' for any length of time must have felt that, in spite of a growing acceptance of his ideas and use of his methods, he never received that wide recognition which seemed, manifestly, to be his due. Three reasons for this may be suggested. The first is that his methods were essentially new—and hence hard to accept—and the conclusions to which they led were often found to be irreconcilable with previously accepted theories. Fear of the uncomprehended is not confined to primitive peoples! The second reason is that his failure to take up new scientific conceptions immediately they became popular tended to alienate those who put their faith in them, which was an indirect acknowledgment of the value of his opinion. This point can be best illustrated, perhaps, with reference to his writings on Mendelism. Following up original suggestions made by Galton, his younger friend had built up a theory of inheritance which was really a mathematical description of observed relationships.



The 'Law of Ancestral Heredity' was founded on data, chiefly for man, collected by himself and his co-workers. Being descriptive in character, it could not be proved erroneous by any alleged discoveries regarding the mechanism of inheritance: these hypotheses, rather, had to accord with the 'Law' if they were correct. He found that many of them did not. Both for this reason, and because he had other objections to them of a statistical nature, he wrote against many of the earlier claims that certain sets of data demonstrated the correctness of Mendelian theory. The correctness of a theory does not guarantee the logic of all its supporters, and the rightness of Mendelism does not prove the wrongness of Karl Pearson in this respect. Some people failed to appreciate this last point and did not realize that his own constructive contribution to problems of heredity could only be complementary, and not antagonistic, to a correct theory of the mechanism of inheritance. If it is asked why he did not himself apply his statistical methods to more recent and better genetical data—and others have done this—the answer is clear: it was for the same reason that he did not prepare an edition of *The Grammar of Science* revised in the light of the theory of relativity—his energy was not unlimited. There were portraits of both Mendel (the Brno statue) and Einstein among those of scientific worthies which covered the walls of his study.

The third consideration which seems to me to have militated against the wider acknowledgment of Karl Pearson's gifts to science is of a more personal nature. "We expect," he wrote (undoubtedly it was he) in the editorial preface to the first part of *Biometrika*, "we expect to receive stalwart blows as well as to give them." The unreserved expression of strong opinions can never please everyone, and it was not expected to. It was characteristic of him—since the converse is probably true for most people—that he was often far more outspoken in writing, whether in letters or print, than in conversation. Like Wordsworth, in De Quincey's words, "he was in fact a somewhat hard pursuer of what he thought fair advantages."

I knew 'the Professor' for less than the last twenty years of his life, and for much of that time only as most students know their distinguished teachers. To me he appeared to belong essentially, in spirit and in bearing, to the company of Hooker, Darwin, Wallace, Huxley and Galton. His was the generation after theirs, but like them he impressed on others his own conception of the dignity of science, and of the high service and intensity of purpose due from those who become her devotees. His purpose was not to learn only, but also to teach all he discovered and believed to be useful and true without any thought of restraint arising from prudential considerations. His numerous public lectures, published in the *Eugenic Laboratory Lecture Series* and elsewhere, demonstrate his ability to present the results and implications of specialized researches in a lucid, forceful and literary form, and the delivery of them was always impressive. The making of extempore speeches was not his forte.

The Professor's essential work-place in his later years, and before his retirement, was the research department which he had built up himself, whether in his own room, the library, a laboratory or a lecture-theatre. He never left it for long and seldom gave lectures elsewhere. He disliked reporters, congresses and committees, and avoided them entirely or as far as possible.

Karl Pearson's settled purpose for twenty years was to win recognition for those scientific methods which he had elaborated and adapted for practical use, following up suggestions made by Francis Galton. He fought for this and lived to see the battle well won and the position consolidated. Among those who take the occupation for granted to-day there is often scant acknowledgment of the labour of the leader who secured it. His specific methods will doubtless become greatly modified and extended to adapt them for particular purposes, but in descriptive sciences, such as anthropology, the present need seems to be for more and better data to which they can be applied, rather than for new methods. He gave impetus to a movement and the influence which this will have on the general development of science must be assessed in the future.

#### Archæology.

#### PREHISTORIC COPPER MINES NEAR BURGAS.

119

The south-eastern corner of Bulgaria is much mineralized. Ancient lead-mines

By O. Davies, M.A., Queen's University, Belfast.

are reported at Dulgerli and elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> while on both sides of the Turkish frontier lies the iron-

<sup>1</sup> Bončev, Описание на Българската Академия на Науките, xix, 1920, p. 1.



working district of Malko Trnovo, exploited both under the Romans and in Turkish times.<sup>2</sup> But this paper will deal with the ancient copper-mines of Karabajir and Rosenbajir, both of which have been cursorily mentioned by previous authors, but so far as I know no published account records their antiquity and extent.

The mine of Karabajir lies some 7 km. south-west of Burgas, to the east of point 208 (Austrian General Staff Map), and between the lagoons at the head of the gulf. Three veins, each about 1½ metres wide, were attacked. The most southerly has been removed for nearly a kilometre by a series of open casts up to 50 metres long and more than 40 metres deep, communicating below but separated on the surface by rock-arches left for the purpose of support. The other two veins are less important, and were attacked by rows of shafts 8-15 metres apart, probably connected underground. The central working is ½ km. long, the northern extends for nearly 2 km. In all cases the vein material has been completely removed, probably by fire-setting. The absence of adits, which would be useful for drainage, indicates primitive technique. A picked specimen of malachite contained less than 9 per cent. copper, 8.4 per cent. iron, .24 per cent. lead, no arsenic, antimony, tin, silver, bismuth, zinc, cobalt or nickel.

The ore was pounded and sorted on tips usually about one metre high on each side of the vein. I found a number of shapeless hammers of porphyry, which outcrops at the east end of the north vein. The tips also yielded stained bones and coarse hand-made sherds of the early iron age; Dr. Mikov is inclined to place them in the La Tène period.

Rosenbajir lies about 24 km. by road from Burgas and 4 km. south of Cape Atija. The workings resemble those at Karabajir in technique, several parallel veins being exploited by trenches and at deeper levels by shafts sunk from them. The amount of material on the tips indicates a great extent of underground galleries. Chalcopyrite,<sup>3</sup> hematite and specular iron ore occur, and it appears that both copper and iron

were sought at different periods. A section on one of the lower tips showed, below modern detritus, about 50 cm. grey soil with shale splinters, such as covers other tips, overlying a thin black layer, probably humus, and a layer of reddish gangue with large stones more than 70 cm. thick. In addition there is much scattered slag,<sup>4</sup> which from composition and structure is almost certainly derived from iron-working; the pieces are small and well-fused, and are often accompanied by lumps of baked clay. This slag must be derived from woodland and hillside furnaces, as much of it lies well above the stream, which anyhow contains too little water for driving bellows.

The short time at my disposal gave me no opportunity for making finds at Rosenbajir. The similarity to Karabajir suggests prehistoric copper-working. At a later date, certainly before the fourteenth century when water-driven bellows were introduced, the veins were again exploited for hematite. I suspect that this second period is approximately Roman, as the position and character of the slag resembles generally that from Malko Trnovo and the district south of Vidin, which are believed to be of this time.

The importance of these copper-mines cannot be exaggerated. Their extent and date equate them with those of the Alps. The absence of slag is noteworthy; a careful examination of the district might reveal small scattered heaps, or the ore may have been exported by sea. Though the sherds found were Thracian, the localities, a few kilometres from the Greek cities of Apollonia and Anchialus, suggest strongly that the copper was shipped to the south, and formed another in the long list of products which Greece obtained from the Euxine. The results obtained by Dr. Pittioni in Austria have shown how profitable the excavation of ancient mines can be; it is to be hoped that the Bulgarian archaeologists will take immediate steps to examine Karabajir and Rosenbajir, for the tips have already been disturbed and will perhaps disappear entirely if the mines are reopened.

<sup>2</sup> For inscription mentioning iron-workers, cp. Frankfurter, Arch.-ep. Mitt. aus Österreich-Ungarn, xiv, p. 143, no. 36. Short descriptions in Bončev, l.c.; Ajanov, Тракия, xiv, 591, 22/11/1934 ff; id., Известия на Бургаската Търговско-Индустриална Камара 3/11/1934.

<sup>3</sup> A specimen contained 30.35 per cent. copper, 29.98 per cent. iron, much sulphur, no lead, silver, bismuth, nickel or cobalt, apparently no zinc, tin, antimony or arsenic.

<sup>4</sup> A specimen contained 58.03 per cent. iron and no copper.



Pacific.

## PRELIMINARY NOTICE OF SOME LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NUMERALS FROM EASTER ISLAND. By Alan S. C. Ross.

Ross.

**120** In the 'Journal' of Don Francisco Antonio de Aguëra y Infanzon, compiled in the year 1770, there is a short vocabulary of the language of Easter Island.<sup>1</sup> If this vocabulary is compared with the vocabulary of the Rapanui (Easter Island) language contained in W. Churchill, *Easter Island*, pp. 185-269, which chiefly consists of Roussel's vocabulary of the dialect (published 1908) presented in a convenient form, the majority of the words can easily be recognized as normal Polynesian Rapanui, when due allowance has been made for the difference between Aguëra's Spanish transliteration<sup>2</sup> and Churchill's<sup>3</sup> and for the fact that the forms given in Aguëra's vocabulary often consist of a noun preceded by a particle, such as *co-* (= Churchill *ko* 2). The following examples will suffice to make this clear:—

AGUËRA.		CHURCHILL.	
eyes	<i>comata</i>	<i>mata</i> 1	the eye
eyelashes	<i>coreque- veque</i>	<i>vekeveke</i>	eyelash
nostrils	<i>coiju</i>	<i>ihu</i>	nose
mouth	<i>coaja</i>	<i>haha</i> 2	mouth
tongue	<i>corero</i>	<i>arero</i>	the tongue
teeth	<i>conijo</i>	<i>niho</i> 1	tooth
chin	<i>cocoba</i>	<i>kauvae</i>	chin
ears	<i>cotarina</i>	<i>tariga</i>	ear
beard	<i>covere</i>	<i>vere</i> 1	beard
neck	<i>conao</i>	<i>gao</i>	neck
knees	<i>coturi</i>	<i>turi</i>	knee
heel	<i>coreque</i>	<i>reke</i>	heel

The last ten entries of Aguëra's vocabulary are the first ten numerals. These bear no resemblance whatsoever to the Rapanui numerals given by Churchill or W. J. Thomson, *Te pito te henua or Easter Island* (Report of the United States National Museum, 1888-9), p. 552, which are normal Polynesian (cf., the Tahiti numerals given in the last column of the table below). A fact still more striking is that they also bear no resemblance to the Easter Island numerals collected by Cook in 1774,<sup>4</sup> which are the normal Rapanui ones. The evidence may conveniently be presented in the form of a table:—

	AGUËRA	CHURCHILL	THOMSON	COOK	TAHITI
1	<i>coyana</i>	<i>tahi</i>	<i>ka-tahi</i>	<i>katta'huee</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>tahi</i>
2	<i>eorena</i>	<i>rua</i> 1	<i>ka-rua</i>	<i>'rooa</i>	<i>rua</i>
3	<i>cogojui</i>	<i>toru</i>	<i>ka-toru</i>	<i>'toroo</i>	<i>toru</i>
4	<i>quiroqui</i>	<i>ha</i> 1	<i>ka-ha</i>	<i>'hāa, fāa</i>	<i>ha</i>
5	<i>majana</i>	<i>rīma</i> 1	<i>ka-rīma</i>	<i>'reema</i>	<i>rīma</i>
6	<i>feuto</i>	<i>ono</i> 1	<i>ka-ono</i>	<i>'honoo</i>	<i>ono</i>
7	<i>legea</i>	<i>hitu</i>	<i>ka-hitu</i>	<i>'heedoo</i>	<i>hitu</i>
8	<i>moroqui</i>	<i>varu</i> 1	<i>ka-varu</i>	<i>'varoo</i>	<i>varu</i>
9	<i>vijoviri</i>	<i>iva</i>	<i>ka-iva</i>	<i>'heeva</i>	<i>iva</i>
10	<i>queromata</i>	<i>hagahuru</i>	<i>aanghuru</i>	<i>atta'hooroo, anna' hooroo</i>	<i>ahuru</i>

How is this extraordinary circumstance to be explained? Were it not for the accuracy of his vocabulary as a whole (as attested by a comparison with Modern Rapanui) it might be suggested that Aguëra had been misled with regard to these numerals; but this seems to be out of the question. Considered as true numerals, Aguëra's words bear no resemblance to the first ten numerals of the Polynesian, Melanesian, or Papuan languages, and, in view of W. de Hevesy's striking (but quite incontrovertible) discovery<sup>6</sup> that the script of the Easter Island hieroglyphic tablets is strikingly similar to that of the Indus Valley seals, it may be of interest to point out that they also bear no resemblance to those of any of the three non-Indo-European language-groups of India.<sup>7</sup>

In this preliminary note I wish to do no more than call the attention of Malayo-Polynesian philologists to the existence of these peculiar numerals; as further points it will suffice to mention that some of these numerals appear, like the nouns (*see* above) to contain a normal Polynesian prefix (cf., *co-yana*, *co-gojui*), and that, despite their obscurity, they do appear to present a slightly Malayo-Polynesian aspect (this may, of course, be deceptive). It is for future research to consider the possibility that they are numerals of the type Modern English *score* (cf., *score* 'notch')—which is likely enough—or whether they are indeed relics of a pre-Rapanui language on Easter Island, in which case some light may be thrown on the many problems of this island.

<sup>1</sup> Conveniently accessible (in English translation) in *Hakluyt Society Publications* ii, 13 (ed. B. G. Corney), pp. 109-10.

<sup>2</sup> Note:—*qu* = [k], *j* = [χ], *b* = [β].

<sup>3</sup> Note:—*g* = [ŋ]; *see* Churchill, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> J. Cook, *A voyage towards the South Pole* (1777) ii, 364.

<sup>5</sup> *ce* = [i], *oo* = [u].

<sup>6</sup> *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* xxxvii, 666-74.

<sup>7</sup> *Viz.*:—(1) Dravidian, (2) Munda, (3) the *Rest-sprache* Burushaski.



The fact that Cook, who visited the island only four years after Agüera, took down the normal Rapanui numerals also remains for discussion.

Was there still a trace of some non-Rapanui language on Easter Island in the late eighteenth century?

#### New Guinea.

With Plates G and H.

Braunholtz.

**NOTE ON A SPECIAL EXHIBITION OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS FROM NEW GUINEA AND INDONESIA COLLECTED BY LORD MOYNE, P.C., D.S.O.** By H. J. Braunholtz, British Museum.

**121** By the courtesy of Lord Moyne an exhibition of the large and varied collection of ethnographical specimens formed by him on his recent expedition (1935-36) to New Guinea and Indonesia will be opened to the public from Tuesday, 26th May, for several weeks, at 10, Grosvenor Place, S.W.1, from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m.

An interesting feature of the exhibition will be a series of about 250 photographs, including a considerable number of pygmy types, taken by Lady Broughton on the expedition.

The chief areas represented are (1) the middle and lower Sepik and Ramu Rivers, in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, (2) the almost unknown Eilanden—Bloemen River region in South-west Netherlands New Guinea, and (3) the Purari River delta in the Gulf of Papua.

The exhibition also includes specimens of the remarkable stone-bladed battle-axes from the Mount Hagen region of the interior plateau, and from the upper Ramu, similar to those published by E. W. P. Chinnery in *MAN*, 1934, 140; some ancient sepulchral pottery, containing human bones, from caves in the Trobriand Islands; two bamboo blow-guns about 18 feet in length, with feathered darts, and other objects from southern New Britain; a fishing kite from Bougainville, Solomon Islands; and various objects from the Admiralty, Nicobar and Philippine Islands and Borneo.

One of the most interesting results of Lord Moyne's expedition is the confirmation of rumours as to the existence of a hitherto unrecorded group of pygmies (negritos) inhabiting the Aiome foothills of the middle Ramu region, between Atemble (about 170 miles from the mouth of the Ramu) and Mount Hagen.

Lord Moyne states that "as they live in an uncontrolled area, we were not allowed to go to their villages; but in response to an invitation, twenty-five of them came down to trade with us on the Ramu. Twelve males whom I measured averaged 54½ inches (1.385 metres) and three females 51½ inches (1.31

metres) in height, the extremes ranging from 52 inches to 57 inches and from 50½ inches to 53 inches respectively. They were light brown in colour, about the shade of light-skinned Polynesians."

These stature figures are easily the lowest yet recorded for any pygmy group in New Guinea, and are about equal to the average of the Congo Pygmies (e.g., Ituri, 54 inches (1.375 metres). The Tapiro, of the Mimika River headwaters, who had this distinction hitherto, averaged approximately 57 inches (1.449 metres), and they were so much shorter than the next smallest group at 58½ inches (1.487 metres) that H. J. T. Bijlmer in his report on the physical anthropology of New Guinea questions whether there is a pygmy 'race' in New Guinea, he and other anthropologists being inclined to regard the peoples of pygmy stature as local varieties of the variable Papuan stock.<sup>1</sup> We have therefore in these Aiome pygmies, if they may be regarded as characteristic specimens of their group, a new somatological fact of outstanding interest. Lord Moyne wishes it to be clearly understood, however, that in recording these measurements he deliberately excluded those individuals who were said to be half-castes, and who had a slightly higher stature and a much darker skin colour. Plate G, Fig. 1, shows a group of these pygmies, including some half-castes, standing beside two members of the expedition for comparison. Figs. 2 and 3 of the same plate show male and female individuals of the group.

Several complete pygmy equipments were obtained; a typical equipment is exhibited and consists of the following objects: Bow; 3 arrows with wide bamboo blades for pig, one four-pronged arrow for birds and fish, four barbed arrows for fighting, 2 plain pointed arrows; small round shield slung on left side in net bag; bone dagger, sometimes with inch-long sheath on point; bamboo louse scratcher with wallaby fur puff; belt of plaited lawyer vine and dendrobium skin (women only); neck pendant

<sup>1</sup> *Nova Guinea*. Vol. VII. Liv. IV. (Leiden 1923). New Guinea Expedition A° 1920," p. 398.

"Anthropological Results of the Dutch Scientific Central



of pigs' teeth, dogs' teeth and other teeth said to be opossum, also of small white, small black and two kinds of large white coix seeds; bandolier, often on both shoulders, of reed or other tubular beads; sometimes bandolier of coix seeds ('Job's tears'); headdresses of bark-cloth or net, or both; garters and arm bands; pubic covering of ragged bark; pandanus leaf mat for rain; men's coils of kunda vine for fire-raising.

(1) The collection from the Sepik and Ramu Rivers includes a fine series of wood carvings and pottery vessels, and among other objects may be mentioned a ladder-post about twelve feet high surmounted by a human figure, from the Sepik, and four large, sacred 'flutes' or pipes of bamboo, also about twelve feet in length, from the lower Ramu, which formed part of a set used at initiation ceremonies.

Hitherto the only collections of any note from the Sepik in this country were those made by Mr. G. Bateson and others for the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, and the Ramu cultures are still very poorly represented in our Museums.

(2) The group of objects from the Eilanden-Bloemen River region is chiefly remarkable for a fine series of carved and painted shields with striking designs which appear to be derived to some extent from the human form. (Plate H, Fig. 1.)

A variety of other objects, such as wooden sago dishes, flutes, drums, canoe ends, 'paddle-spears' and house posts (Plate H, Fig. 1), elaborately carved in a distinctive style, often in openwork, testifies to the artistic sense and technical capacity of their makers. Metal is still practically unknown here, and the carving has been done almost entirely with shell, stone or bone tools. This collection, together with that previously made and presented by Lord Moyne to the British Museum in 1934,<sup>2</sup> should form an adequate basis for a detailed study of the art of this

region of Netherlands New Guinea. It evidently has close affinities with that of the Lorentz River and the coast further to the west.<sup>3</sup>

Remarkable, too, are the crocodile jaw-bone daggers, one of which, ornamented with seeds and feathers, is of exceptional size. (Plate H, Fig. 2 (b)).

(3) The Purari delta is represented by a series of the carved and painted ceremonial shields called *kwoi* (similar to the *gopé* of the Fly delta), owned by initiated men and hung up in the long ceremonial houses (*ravi*). Their designs are derived mainly from human and crocodile forms.

Lord Moyne has generously offered to present these collections to the British Museum and other public museums in the country after the closing of the exhibition.

#### DESCRIPTION OF PLATES G AND H.

Plate G.—Fig. 1.—Group of pygmies from the Aiome foothills, between the Middle Ramu River and Mt. Hagen. With them are a few taller 'half-castes,' and two members of Lord Moyne's expedition.

Fig. 2.—Pygmy woman wearing nose-pins, bark belt and grass apron. Aiome.

Fig. 3.—Pygmy man wearing hair net, nose-pins, boars' tusk breast ornament, armlets, etc., and carrying leaf rain-cape. Aiome.

Plate H.—Fig. 1.—Objects collected from a deserted and ruined village on the Bloemen River, S.W. Netherlands New Guinea. The two taller posts, representing a man and woman with projections carved in openwork, were cut off the tops of poles, standing at each end of a row of uprights supporting the front platform of the largest house. The two outer poles were taken from the tops of two beams lying among the rafters of another house. They are new and had apparently never been erected. The shields, with handles behind, are cut from the solid wood; the sunk background of the design is painted white, and the pattern, which is red, is outlined by thin uncoloured ridges.

Fig. 2 (a).—Bamboo lime container, with a carved and painted wooden figure of a cockatoo enclosing a fish's head, attached by rattan binding at one end. At the other end is a detachable cap, perforated for the insertion of a notched pin, which is missing. Middle Sepik River. (Cf. O. Reche 'Der Kaiserin Augusta Fluss,' Fig. 280, ff.)

Fig. 2 (b).—Dagger of exceptional size, made from a crocodile's jaw-bone; length, 27 inches. The handle is encased in string network to which cassowary feathers and coix and other seeds are attached.

### ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Lelong: a film of Bali, shown in colour. By the Marquis de la Falaise de la Couraye. 5th May, 1936.

**122** This film, the first of Bali to be made in colour, is an aesthetic production of great beauty which has already received recognition in an international exhibition in Moscow. Though made

primarily for commercial purposes it embodies many details of anthropological interest, giving a record, in particular, of betrothal custom, traditional dances and mortuary rites. The script was discussed in detail and approved by the elders of the village where the film was mainly taken, and in his commentary the Marquis de la Falaise pointed out

<sup>2</sup> See: "British Museum Quarterly" Vol. VIII, 1934, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> See: H. A. Lorentz: "Nova Guinea" Vol. VII, Liv. i, 1913.









FIG. 1. GROUP OF AIOME PYGMIES, WITH A FEW TALLER HALF-CASTES, AND TWO MEMBERS OF THE EXPEDITION.



FIG. 2. AIOME PYGMY WOMAN, WEARING NOSE-PINS, DARK BELT, AND GRASS APRON.



FIG. 3. AIOME PYGMY MAN, WEARING HAIR NET, NOSE-PINS, BOARS' TUSK BREAST ORNAMENT, ARMLETS, AND DARK BELT, AND CARRYING A LEAF RAIN-CAPE.

**AIOME PYGMIES, RAMU RIVER, TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA.**

*Photos by Lady Broughton.*





FIG. 1. WOODEN SHIELDS AND HOUSE-POSTS, BLOEMEN RIVER, NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA.



FIG. 2. (a) BAMBOO LINE CONTAINER, WITH CARVED BIRD, SEPIK RIVER, NEW GUINEA, AND (b) CROCODILE'S JAW-BONE DAGGER, BLOEMEN RIVER, NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA.  $\times \frac{1}{2}$ .

OBJECTS FROM NEW GUINEA, COLLECTED BY LORD MOYNE.







precisely where and for what reasons it departed from Balinese custom. This and his account of the difficulties of film production in a native community threw interesting sidelights on the contact of cultures.

**Land and Labour on the Cross River: the economic organization of a Yakö village, S. Nigeria: Summary of a Communication presented by Professor Daryll Forde. 21st May, 1936.**

Yam cultivation in forest clearings occupies the greater part of the territory and labour of the Yakö and is the occasion of the basic economic organization.

The effective study of economic activities and the mutual obligation of groups and individuals requires the collection of reliable if approximate data concerning density of population, size of economic units, areas occupied, intensity of labour and volume of production and accumulation of food supplies and materials. Suggestions and illustrations are given of means whereby native practice and standards of value may be used by ethnographers to achieve reasonably accurate estimates in the economic field and an analysis of provisional results is presented.

The village of Umor, with a population of eight to nine thousand and a territory of nearly forty square miles, maintains an annual aggregate cultivated area of from four to five square miles. Men claim and occupy a series of five or six sets of plots which are cleared and farmed in rotation, one set each year. The size of individual holdings each year, which range very widely within a kin group

from about a quarter to over five acres, is affected by a large number of social and economic factors. Farm plots are thought of as lying in the lands of the patrilineal kin groups but the lands of the kin groups may also be described as those which its component members effectively occupy, since they are modified by individual expansion, contraction and concession. The kin group often gives merely passive assent to individual initiative. There are, however, kin land elders on each farm road who are concerned to regulate both the internal and external farming relations of the kin groups.

The agricultural tasks of men and their wives are in general sharply distinguished and, although their farm is cultivated as a unit, a man and his wives have their own personal crops and harvests which are devoted to household needs according to customary rules. The exploitation of bush resources, among which oil palms are outstanding, also lies within the framework of the patrilineal kin organization but individual initiative plays an even greater part.

But the patrilineal principle is not all-pervading and among the Yakö a matrilineal kin system exists alongside the patrilineal. Although of relatively minor territorial importance the matrilineal groups have rights to forest trees and other resources over defined tracts in the village territory, so that there is a dual system of territorial rights and boundaries. The matrilineal groups are considered, despite their dissociation from the organization of farming, of paramount importance in the maintenance of agricultural prosperity, since the rituals performed at planting and harvest are performed by their priests and include appeals to the matrilineal kin fetishes.

## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

### BRITISH NATIONAL HUMAN HEREDITY COMMITTEE.

**124** This Committee was formed in 1932 for the collection of data and the investigation of human pedigrees, as a branch of the International Human Heredity Committee, founded by the International Federation of Eugenic Organizations. It has now been enlarged as a Council and secured accommodation at 115, Gower Street, London, W.C.1, and in collaboration with the Galton Laboratory aims at setting up a Clearing House for material on Human Genetics. The Council consists of a number of geneticists and leading medical men, with Professor Ruggles Gates as Chairman, Sir Laurence Halsey as Treasurer, Dr. Fraser Roberts as Honorary Scientific Secretary and Mrs. C. B. S. Hodson as Honorary General Secretary. The direction of the work is to be in the hands of a small Executive Committee.

The Council would be grateful to receive all available material from institutions and individuals, furnishing well-authenticated data on the transmission of human traits, whatever these may be. Family, histories or pedigrees, twin studies and statistical researches are mainly contemplated.

As research workers and others who send in material may in some cases wish to retain the sole right of publication or copyright, those who so desire are asked to accompany their material with a statement to that effect.

Reprints of published work would also be most acceptable. Many authors, when publishing material may also have collected a number of pedigrees which they have been unable to reproduce in detail. It is the object of the Council that such records, by being included in the Clearing House, should not be lost. Those wishing a copy of the standard International Pedigree Symbols may obtain one from the Office.

Material should be accompanied by all available details in regard to source, diagnostic symptoms, and the name and address of the person or persons who vouch for accuracy. All such details will be regarded as strictly confidential.

The other objects contemplated in this enterprise, namely, facilities for study, replies to inquiries, and information service, cannot be initiated for some time. Announcement of these activities will be made later.

C. B. S. HODSON.



## REVIEWS.

## OCEANIA.

**Admiralitäts-Inseln.** By Dr. Hans Neumann.

**125** *Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition, 1908-1910. II. Ethnographie: A. Melanesien, Bd. 3. Hamburg, 1934. xxii + 399 pp., map, 231 fig., and 23 pl.*

Since 1913 there have been published eight volumes dealing with the Micronesian results of this South Seas expedition. The present volume is the third to appear of the Melanesian series, its two predecessors being 'Der Kaiserin-Augusta Fluss,' and 'St. Matthias-Gruppe.' The whole series is under the editorship of our Huxley Lecturer for 1931, Prof. G. Thilenius, and he and his team of fellow-workers are producing substantial proofs that German anthropology is not yet asphyxiated by the fumes of the Aryan fermentation. The expedition itself, with its collection of recorded observations and material objects, and many of the volumes, date from times more auspicious for impartial exposition than the present; but in any case the Melanesian islanders of the Pacific are not likely to be claimed as Nordics. The islands themselves are lost to Germany, and whatever views we may hold as to the justice of this deprivation, we have to admit that if scientific and official interest in native peoples is any criterion of fitness for colonial possessions, then the Germans leave us standing.

Whilst the bulk of this volume is based on the results of the expedition, the literature of the Admiralties has not been neglected, and the museums of Basel, Berlin, Dresden and Hamburg, amongst others, have been drawn upon. By far the greater part of the book relates to material culture, and it is essentially a museum volume. The introductory sections, dealing with discovery and exploration, geography, climate, fauna and flora, demography, hygiene, physiology and psychology, occupy together only eighty-eight pages, and sociology is dismissed in fifteen. But from the museum man with Admiralty Islands objects in his charge, the book will receive a hearty welcome, and the technologist will place it amongst his valued works of reference.

H. S. HARRISON.

**Westkarolinen.** By Anneliese Eilers. *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910. Herausgegeben von Dr. G. Thilenius. II. Ethnographie: B. Micronesien Band 9. 3. Halbband. Friedrichsen, De Gruyter & Co., Hamburg, 1935.*

**126** Anthropologists interested in the problems of the Pacific Cultures will welcome the publication of the material collected on some of the Micronesian islands in 1908-1910 by the Hamburg Südsee-Expedition. In the years which have passed since that time conditions in Micronesia have changed in more than one way. Hardly any aspect of native life has remained untouched by western influences and the old organization of many communities is now completely broken up. Therefore any observations made when this process was still in its beginning are necessarily important. That these observations do not fulfill all the requirements of modern anthropology is not surprising. The members of the German expedition stayed for only comparatively short periods on each of the islands. This accounts for the many gaps in the information concerning the social organization. But it is astonishing, on the other hand, how much material on traditions and religious beliefs was collected and how accurately the mapping of many villages showing the exact situation of every individual house was carried out.

The great merit of both the expedition and the present publication is the very conscientious account of the material culture which includes, for example, even a detailed description of tattoo patterns. This with the numerous drawings and photographs renders the series indispensable to the Museum ethnologist.

The volume under review deals with the western Caroline Islands, Songosor, Pur, and Merir. Taking into consideration the difficulty of compiling and supplementing other peoples field notes the presentation of the material is excellent and we must be grateful to Miss Eilers for having undertaken, so thoroughly, this rewardless task. C. FÜRER-HAIMENDORF.

**New Guinea Recollections.** By C. A. W. Monckton.

**127** *London: Lane, Bodley Head, 1934. Pp. 250. 10 illustrations. Price 8s. 6d.*

This book may be cordially recommended to those anthropologists who like sometimes to get away from their subject. Like its predecessors, it contains a wealth of good stories, told in the racy manner with which Mr. Monckton's readers are familiar. The public are said to like the personal touch in books of travel and adventure, and here they get it with a vengeance. To some it will seem that the author figures almost too prominently. It may be taken for granted that the author of these *Recollections* was in his day an active and efficient officer, but his readers should guard against the conclusion that he was the only one of this kind in the service.

Any scientific value which the book might possess is vitiated by the fact that the author is out to tell good stories. We never know when we are standing on firm ground, for a great deal has obviously been built up from his imagination. A good example—if anthropologically irrelevant—is seen on p. 62, where Mr. Monckton gives a sample of a letter written by one of his subordinates to an important Government official.

It would not be worth while reviewing 'New Guinea Recollections' at any length in *MAN* were it not that the book might give a false impression regarding native administration in Papua. It begins with a good story of how a Resident Magistrate connives at the killing of four 'sorcerers' by other natives on his station.

After waiting expectantly, it would seem, he hears the "horrible scream" at about 3 a.m., and next morning inspects the "dark stains on the ground at which the ants are very busy." But it is all "mere rumour." Later he suggests that the murderers (who have been rewarded with a case of tobacco and a great deal of food from the station store) are having a "meat-tea." Whatever its truth or falsity, it is a very discreditable story, and one is glad to think that, even in the more rough-and-ready conditions of earlier times, most officers must have had a better idea of their duty. It is to be hoped that the sensation-loving public will not imagine that things are done in this way nowadays. F. E. W.

**Taming Philippine Headhunters. A Study of Government and Cultural Change in Northern Luzon.** By Felix and Marie Keesing.

**128** *Research Staff, Institute of Pacific Relations. Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., former Governor-General of the Philippines. London: Allen & Unwin, 1934. 8½ x 5½. 288 pp. 10s. 6d. net.*

The main title of this book is misleading, for it contains no anthropology in the narrow sense and has



nothing to do with head-hunting or its abolition; it is a detailed study of the infinitely more difficult aftermath, of what happens to the head-hunter once he is tamed. It is at once a hopeful and a depressing book.

The United States of America were untrammelled by precedent when they took over the Philippines in 1898, and they could have found, even at that date, many a warning signpost in British India. But the human race is not given to studying precedents, least of all for their real teaching: how not to do things. And so the United States set out to uplift the native, to make a man of him like ourselves, regardless of the fact that this is not only laying up political trouble for the future, but is also destroying the race's finest inherited instincts, replacing them, if at all, by a shoddy imitation of our own. It mattered little in the more advanced areas, the populous plains where, at least in the towns, there had long been an appreciable absorption of Spanish culture. But it mattered much in the hills, where the primitive tribes were still almost intact.

Ten of the 11 million inhabitants are plainmen, and under the Filipino parliament; with these we are not concerned. The remaining million are hillmen (the same attractive stock as the hillmen of Assam and Burma), excluded from the parliamentary constitution and reserved for the American Governor-General himself; they cover an area out of proportion to their numbers, no less than half to two-thirds of the Philippines, and their cultural levels vary. The authors selected a compact mountain mass of 9,000 square miles, rising at points to nearly ten thousand feet, and containing a population of 250,000 head-hunters within living memory; here, in the remotest spot they could find, they spent four months; they had previously spent several weeks in the Manila secretariat. The result is a work which, despite its deliberately colourless tone, is of fascinating interest to everyone concerned with the administration of backward races.

Few officers realize till towards the end of their service the distinction between power and influence, and they take for granted the code and manual type of administration which is the death of personal rule and customary law; the Americans imposed it as a matter of course. Fortunately the jurisdiction of the Manila Supreme Court is rarely exercised in the hills, for in academic perverseness its judgments resemble those of our own tropical High Courts. Even in village schools the main subject is English, and head-hunter children learn from primers designed for American children; the result is a white-collar unemployed class, and society is deprived of those who ought to be its leaders. So far the reaction of the people is according to type: released from grim traditional restraints, rejoicing in the new liberty, their first feeling was one of gratitude; it has now given place to apathy—will the next stage also be according to type?

Against all this must be set not only the unspotted record and the devotion of American administrators, but also the fact that their uneasiness has been aroused: they spoke their minds and placed their archives at the disposal of the authors. It is impossible to read this skilful survey without a feeling of gratitude.

G. E. HARVEY.

**Mangaian Society** (*B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 122).  
By Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck). Honolulu, 1934.  
207 pp.

This is an ethnographic account of a people inhabiting one of the islands of the Cook Archipelago. The author's field work was conducted under conditions which present a unique example of co-operation between Government and Anthropology, for he was appointed

to take the place of the Resident Agent during the latter's period of leave. Dr. Buck enjoyed valuable advantages in return for the not very exacting duties he was called on to perform, and during his five months stay "The Government . . . devoted its attention to 'the ethnological survey.'" Not every field worker would, or could, be trusted to drive the administrative and anthropological nags in harness.

Mangaia has been "profoundly affected by European culture for more than a century," but the author has numerous sources for reconstructing its pre-European history. He is frankly interested in this aspect of his task, so that nearly one-third of the book is devoted to 'Origins' and 'History.' This part makes undeniably serious reading and will appeal more to the particular student of Polynesia than to anthropologists at large. Moreover, the historical validity of the traditions must always lie open to question. Dr. Buck speaks of "conflicting traditional versions" and of this myth as "naively inconsistent" with that. Altogether we are rather lost in the maze, and on quaking ground at that.

Even the pedigrees may let us down in one way or another. In support of a theory that Mangaia was peopled by migrants from Rarotonga, Dr. Buck suggests that the pre-migratory stages of the pedigree were deliberately suppressed in favour of a fictitious and more flattering divine origin. It would indeed be absurd, as he says, that the Mangaian in the year 1450 should have forgotten the human genealogies of their leaders, the island whence they came, etc. But it seems rather fanciful to suggest that the migrants, after landing in Mangaia, "were faced with the intellectual 'problem of accounting for themselves to posterity,'" and that in order "to give initial prestige to a people 'who were making a new start in life' they were cunning enough to short-circuit history and establish an immediate connection with divinity. It would perhaps be easier to assume that, though they had not forgotten their pre-migratory forbears by 1450, they have forgotten them by 1930.

But those who follow these historical inquiries and who do not share any doubt as to their worth-whileness may be assured that Dr. Buck has set out a mass of material with consummate care and thoroughness; and incidentally the texts and translations will provide highly valuable matter for the student of linguistics.

The greater part of the work is devoted to Mangaian society of the present day, or rather of the day before European influence was very strongly felt. The author writes very often in the past tense. The material is well and clearly arranged, following a long table of contents through Social Organization, Tribes, Titles, Land, etc., down to Religion, Death, and Spirits. A great deal of importance is attached to war, and successful leadership in war, which latter gives Mangaian society "some features unique in the Cook Archipelago."

Attention should finally be drawn to the author's explanation of tribal exogamy. This exogamy appears to be a local development, for "the main Polynesian cultures had no incest inhibitions that necessitated 'exogamous marriages,'" and Dr. Buck's theory is that exogamy arose here from the relations set up between the tribes as they came into contact with one another on Mangaia. The original settlers (Ngariki) probably had to supply wives for the later settlers, who had few or no women among them. In due course, as the later-comers produced families, the Ngariki "naturally seized 'the opportunity of taking women from them as wives' in recompense for what they had supplied. Thus 'was set up a practice of obtaining wives from outside,



"first from necessity and later with the idea of recompense. Custom developed religious tapus against marriage within the tribe." This explanation clearly

falls into line with the theory that exogamy can develop from extra-group rather than intra-group relations.

F. E. W.

# ASIA.

**On Central Asian Tracks: Brief Narrative of three Expeditions in innermost Asia and north-western China.** By Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., with numerous illustrations, colour-

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plates, panoramas and map from original surveys: London, 1933. xxii + 342 pp.

In this handsome and richly illustrated publication, based upon lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, Sir Aurel Stein summarizes the story and the general results of his three memorable expeditions in Chinese Turkestan and the adjacent regions. Obviously no single octavo volume could do full justice to explorations which, not to mention personal narratives, illustrated lectures and minor essays, have furnished material for at least eleven folio volumes of official reports and maps, and which have, moreover, given rise to elaborate separate publications by specialist collaborators, whose task has in fact only begun. But anyone who will peruse the book with the aid of a large map, and will study the photographs, will obtain a fairly precise idea of the ground covered by the geographical and topographical explorations; and the descriptions of the journeys, with their always definite particulars of great wind-eroded and sand-piled deserts, salt-desiccated seas, high glacier passes and towering mountain ranges, of the preparations necessary and the calculations and trials en route, will convey an impression of the scale of the whole. Two features of Sir Aurel Stein's geographical work will strike the reader as distinctive: the first being a tireless enterprise always on the alert for new developments, and the second a constant pre-occupation with the physical history and its interaction with the human history of races, migrations and routes. It may be said, indeed, that the archaeological interest predominates. In regard to this romantic side of Sir Aurel Stein's researches, the excavations of ruined dwellings, shrines, forts and wall-barriers, and to the abundant remains of vanished cultures, religions and languages, in a region which was the central meeting ground of Asia, the student of the larger works will not find much that is new to him. But the re-arrangement of the matter, combining in the case of each revisited sphere of operations the results successively attained, affords a better conspectus. In the case of the hidden library of Ch'ien-fo-tung (Tun-huang) the author's feeling for the value and historical significance of the art treasures—the paintings on walls, silken banners, etc.—has been manifested in a rather full exposition with ample illustration. In general it may be said that the volume comprises a high proportion of the outstanding matters of interest detailed in the larger works, and also of the most important photographs and colour reproductions. The amount and variety of the activities and results which it records might well exhaust the reader's mental resilience, were it not for the fascination of the wonderful historical epic which by the labours of Sir Aurel Stein and his contemporaries is being brought to light, and the grandeur of the works of nature which constituted its arena.

A phrase on p. 282, referring to 'the Italo-Slavonic branch' of the Indo-European language, invites emendation.

F. W. THOMAS.

**China, a Short Cultural History.** By C. P. Fitzgerald. Ed. by Prof. C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. London, 1935. 10 x 7. xx + 616 pp., plates and illustrations. Price 30s.

This book is more than a formal history. It deals

in due proportion with earlier political history of China and ends to all intents and purposes with the Taiping rebellion; but the political history is the framework for an extended discussion, period by period, of the various cultural phases, including economics, philosophy and religion and art. In addition, the author pays considerable attention to the relations between the Far East and the West. Each phase is illustrated by a map showing the extent of the Middle Kingdom at a particular epoch and by pictures of typical works of art. Literature is represented by short quotations, most scholarly translations, as opposed to some of the literal renderings which sometimes do duty in books on China. Anthropology is seldom touched on, unless we extend that term to civilization as opposed to savagery, to which it is usually limited. The prehistoric period is only briefly discussed and the various magical rites which continued to hedge around the Imperial Throne to the end receive incidental mention, but not more; a further discussion was not, of course, possible within the limits which the author set himself. The Wade system of transliteration has been used throughout, though the author is not pedantic about familiar names: he writes, for instance, "Sianfu" not "Hsi An Fu."

The book, then, belongs to the category of 'higher' rather than of 'lower' cultures. To cover in so short a space (for even six hundred pages is short for the whole of Chinese history) is no mean feat. It might have resulted in a pedantic commentary. That it does not do so is a tribute not only to the author's learning—he could not have undertaken the work unless he had that in plenty—but also to his literary skill.

To criticize details would clearly be out of place. The author on the whole does not seem to be in great sympathy with the outlook of the Confucian scholars (perhaps that is a false impression), and he does not seem to approach the theme quite with that sense of humour which strikes some minds as being characteristic of Chinese culture. Although there undoubtedly were contacts in ancient times between the two growing cultures of the Mediterranean and the Hwang Ho, during the period of their development these two great civilizations were separated. Until recently, with few exceptions, neither showed very much curiosity about the other. To-day, fortunately, this is no longer the case, China is learning about the West more perhaps on the materialistic than on the philosophical side, and this book, synchronizing, as it does, with the Chinese exhibition at Burlington House, is an eloquent testimony that the West is anxious to learn something of the culture and art of China.

L. H. D. B.

**Children of the Yellow Earth: Studies in Pre-historic China.** By J. Gunnar Andersson. London, 1934. xxi + 345 pp., map, 32 pls., 147 figs. Price 25s.

Ten years of scientific pioneering in North China would provide any man with a fund of information of the first importance, but only to a few is given the ability to describe the personal side of the events of such a period with the reasoned objectivity and perspective which characterizes Dr. Andersson's present volume. Most anthropologists are acquainted with the prophetic relationship which exists between the author and the later discoveries at Chou Kou Tien as well as the major importance of the discovery and investigation of the



Yang Shao prehistoric period in Honan and Kansu. The first five chapters are concerned with less-known events more properly relating to the records of geology and palaeontology; the discovery of stromatolite ore deposits, of the *Collenia* nodules, the Shantung dinosaurs and the first *Hipparion* deposit in China, but their very real interest is overshadowed by what is to follow.

The Peking Man has been accorded quite rightly more popular interest during the last eight years than any of the previous or subsequent finds of fossil man. In part this is due to the fact that anthropologists and prehistorians have been forced to a reorientation of accepted doctrines regarding Man's evolutionary development and his early history; partly to the slow percolation among the educated but non-specialist public of the idea that Man is, and has been, a changing being, physically as well as culturally. In thirty pages the reader may follow the circumstances of this momentous discovery, the many personalities connected with it, the long period after the first announcement when opinion wavered as to the real nature of the tooth and finally of the magnificent fulfilment of the hopes and firm

belief of Dr. Andersson and the late Professor Davidson Black.

The latter half of the book is devoted to a consideration of the early prehistoric cultures of North China. As he says in the Foreword, his view of the problems connected with this period remains substantially the same as when he published "An Early Chinese Culture" eleven years ago. The chapters on the interpretation of the painted designs of the P'an Shan pottery will bore the reader for whom the book as a whole is avowedly intended. The specialist will accept, or reserve his opinion, depending on his view of the validity of a "comparative method" which transcends time, space and cultural setting in a search for resemblances. However, the smoothly flowing narrative of the discovery and excavation of the ancient village at Yang Shao and the mountain cemetery of P'an Shan compensates, in part, for an hiatus in style and development of the main theme of this work. It is a charming book, simply written, by a man who has done his own job well and has, at the same time, gladly pointed out, and encouraged others to develop and expand, his own pioneer researches.

T. D. McCOWN.

#### PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

**Erblehre und Rassenhygiene im Völkischen Staat.**

**133** By Professor Dr. Ernest Rüdin. München: (J. H. Lehmanns Verlag). 385 pp., 64 illustrations. Price 14 R.M.

The page opposite the frontispiece portrait of the Editor dedicates this book to him with congratulations on his sixtieth birthday. It is an appropriate record to the achievements of this man who has been so definitely a leader for the world in intricate researches required to establish the hereditary nature of certain mental defects and diseases. The book reproduces two series of lectures which formed a training course for leading psychiatrists before the German Eugenic Law came into operation; the first section being public evening lectures dealing with the general background of the sciences underlying eugenic legislation and practice.

Drs. Schultze and Von Wettstein deal respectively with present problems in race hygiene, and biological theories of genetics. Professor Mollison gives a brief survey of some of the races within the German State. The statistical studies which have disclosed the differential birthrate are presented with illuminating graphs by Dr. Burgdoerfer. This section includes the rate of modern urbanization. The juridical aspect of the contemplated eugenic measures is treated by Dr. Ruttke, while the positive and negative aspects of selection, as practically applicable to the people is set forth by Dr. Guett, subsequently charged with the application of the new public health measures in the Home Office for the Reich.

The next fifteen lectures are more specialist in trend. Rüdin himself contributes two, one summarizing the prognosis of special types of insanity in tainted families (work so widely quoted that it is already familiar); the other expounding the application of the sterilization law. This section will be of special interest, for it shows the disadvantages as well as the advantages of a compulsory measure. Compulsion necessitates limitation of the operation to clearly diagnosed cases in a perfectly definite category of diseases; this inevitably leaves untouched constitutional cases where transmission is suspected; such cases under a voluntary system frequently consent to sterilization with racial advantage, but under compulsion the operation is prohibited for all such. Luxenburger and Schulz present studies from their own researches. Kretschmer and Meggendörfer go into the allied subjects of inborn constitution, and the genetic aspects of preventive medicine. Twin studies

are also presented by Luxenburger; while the genetical aspects of neuroses and nervous diseases by Hoffmann and Weygandt throw new light on problems which in our own country have long been set for solution by Tredgold. Weygandt's paper has a fine series of pedigrees.

The positive side of eugenic law in the shape of marriage advice is treated by Hübner.

Criminal investigations are taken at the end of the volume, together with a lecture on the social problem group. It has not been widely recognized that the experience of castration gained over fifty years Swiss practice, as rehabilitating confirmed sex offenders, forms part of the German Eugenic Law; Weygandt's paper on this operation brings together a large amount of material of great interest to specialists.

This book should help to dispel the confusion still attached in England to the term 'race hygiene.' This really corresponds to the use of the word 'eugenics.' Race is also used in Germany in the English sense of a segregated type of a variety of Man. As a rule it is not difficult to see in which sense the word is being used. The anticipated warnings against the hybridization of European stocks by unions with Semitic race are given emphatically and clearly in the introductory lecture, and appear again in Mollison's survey. A careful study of this work will show that the true emphasis of modern German race hygiene falls on the determined effort to purify the Germanic stocks of those mutations within their own race which cause misery and incapacity, either on the mental side or the physical side, or finally in producing those miserable aberrations of character which cause dread and loathing to the community, and are a source of hopeless degradation to the outcast individual.

English readers may glean much from the various statistical studies contained in this book, as well as from the more generalized assessments of the incidence of the major physical and mental troubles. These are not encouraging to those familiar with the figures to be gleaned from our own Public Health Reports.

On page 7, Grotjahn is quoted as assessing the mental and physical defectives and diseased as just over one million for the whole of Germany, while one-third of the population is regarded as suffering from some trouble which prevents them from being reckoned as perfectly fit and healthy. In Great Britain, apart from the feeble-minded and the insane, we have to reckon with



10 per cent. mentally sub-normal, which on the Binet-Simon tests is in Germany regarded as the level of mental defect certifiable for sterilization; while for this century our army records show the German figure for general virility to be reversed—i.e., the unfit men amongst recruits are as two to one, recently three, or four to one in some areas. The general biological contentions of the book, if they are true, would readily explain this, in that Public Assistance services have been much more liberal with us than in Germany, where, only since 1850, has it been possible for a man to obtain a marriage licence without proving that his regular earnings were sufficient to support a wife and family. Selection has at least partially been more effective in that country, and our own population has greater leeway to catch up.

C. B. S. HODSON.

**Woman: an Historical, Gynæcological and Anthropological Compendium.** By Hermann Heinrich Ploss, Max Bartels, and Paul Bartels. Edited by Eric John Dingwall. London: William Heinemann, 1935. Vol. I, 655 pp.; Vol. II, 820 pp.; Vol. III, 543 pp.; with more than 1,000 illustrations in black and white and seven colour plates. Price 8 guineas.

The first edition of *Das Weib* was published in 1885 and the eleventh, after successive revisions and enlargements, in 1927. This, the first English edition, has also been considerably revised and enlarged. One wonders whether any other book in any branch of anthropology has been nearly as widely circulated and as frequently looked at, if not read through, while being quite sure that no other produced so sumptuously has. The price of the English edition is necessarily high, no doubt, on account of the cost of production, but it may also be taken to indicate a belief that great interest will be taken in the work in this country, whether, in spite of the fact, or because of it, that the sale is limited 'to members of the Medical Profession, Anthropologists, and other men of Science, Sociologists, and representatives of Scientific Education and Research'—a list which may flatter the anthropologist, but not the socio-

logist.<sup>1</sup> The subject dealt with is evidently one which appeals to many who fail to appreciate learned expositions on any other anthropological topics, and it would be a bad thing for men in general if this were not so.

In the preface Dr. Dingwall says that his aim was to preserve in its essentials the character of the book as originally planned, while changing or modifying some of the themes and statements of his predecessors to make them accord with recently acquired knowledge. The sections dealing with anatomy, embryology and physiology have been extensively revised. The short title list of authorities, which fills more than 100 pages at the end of the third volume, is said to have been checked where possible, and considerably enlarged. Beyond it one would have expected to find a detailed index, since the work is essentially a compendium, as it is called in the title, but no index is provided.

The scheme of this book may not be clear and the title is likely to mislead, for in spite of its great length many aspects of woman's life which may be studied are ignored. Briefly, the purpose of the original author seems to have been to collect material relating to all the physical attributes of woman which are hers on account of her female sex and which hence distinguish her from man. The social implications of the possession of these attributes are also dealt with, but not other social conditions affecting women. Throughout the standpoint is that of the anthropologist who is concerned with comparisons between different varieties or groups of mankind. The English editor might object to this definition of the scope of *Woman*. It is true that some other topics are considered, but they are only treated in a cursory way. He says truly in the preface that the work "consists essentially of summarized notes drawn from both ancient and modern authorities, and is thus rather of historical and cultural interest than of practical utility." Much of the material is anecdotal rather than systematic in nature, but the compilation is a valuable one to anthropologists tilling in many different fields, and those in this country will appreciate the translation and careful revision.

G. M. MORANT.

## RACE.

**La Raca.** M. Rossell i Filar. Libreria Catalonia, Barcelona, 1930. 364 pp. (Compendiu in French.) 10 pesetas.

M. Rossell finds in unity of race the only secure basis of nationality. The primary race-character is mentality. Of secondary characters, the most important, because most nearly correlated with mentality, is movement (*les gestes*). Cephalic type, skin colour, etc., are less important. Only a pure-bred race can produce a culture.

The real theme of the book is topical, the reconstitution and liberation of the Catalan race, which, with its nucleus in the Pyrenean Zone of Catalonia, occupies "the Limousin, part of Guyenne and Gascogne, the county of Foix, Languedoc, Auvergne, Provence, the counties of Venaissin and Nice, the Roussillon, Catalonia proper, Andorra, the Pyrenean Zone of Aragon and part of Lower Aragon, Valencia, the Balearic Isles, and part of Murcia."

B. A.

**Die Rassenmischung beim Menschen.** By Hermann Lundborg. 1931. (*Bibliographia Genetica*, Vol. 8). Pp. 221, pls. 5.

Interest in the scientific study of racial crossing in man is slowly increasing. Much uncritical writing

has been devoted to the subject, particularly as regards crosses between whites and blacks, but more recently it is realized that each inter-racial cross is a problem in itself as regards its physical, social and political results.

In the work before us, Professor Lundborg has summarized the extensive literature from Gobineau and Broca to modern geneticists, and back to the Greeks. The headings include a historical summary, methods of research and related sciences; the conception of race in plants, animals and man; hybrid vigour and pauperization; phenomena of domestication in man; the physical results of racial crossing; the significance of serological results, blood groups, etc.; and the psychic results of miscegenation.

The whole is not a compendium of the results of racial crossing, but a discussion and criticism of the problems. In this the author succeeds admirably. His conclusions are strongly against miscegenation, which he regards as one of the chief causes of the downfall of civilizations.

The full bibliography makes this a work of reference for racial crossing in its genetical, eugenical or political and historical aspects.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

<sup>1</sup> In the curriculum of London University anthropology in all its branches has the distinction, which is not unique, of being regarded both as an art and as a science. Usually the arts have it.



**Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde und ihre Nachbargebiete.**

**137** Edited by Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt. Stuttgart. Ferl. Enke, 1935. Band I. 1. See, 112 pp., illustrated. Price RM. 22 for the annual volume of six parts.

The general interest now aroused by questions of race and kindred problems justifies the establishment of a journal specially devoted to them; and it would be difficult to find a better general editor than Professor von Eickstedt of Breslau. The first part, published in January 1935, contains seven substantial articles. The most important, and longest, is the editor's study of Mediterranean types in Wales (45 pages, with some well selected photographs). Dr. C. B. Davenport's paper on the influence of economic conditions on the mixture of races is in English, the remainder are in German. Then follows a survey of current work, most comprehensive and well selected; here, also, two papers are in English, and another, by Professor Vallois, in French. Recent publications are reviewed under five principal heads, biological, medical, geographical, historical and general applications. Finally, there are several pages of current news from thirteen countries; those for Great Britain are communicated by Mr. R. U. Sayce from Cambridge.

If the quality of subsequent numbers maintains that of this first part, the new journal will be a valuable addition to the periodical literature of the subject. J. L. M.

**The Pueblos, with Comparative Data on the Bulk of the Tribes of the South-west and Northern Mexico.** By Aleš Hrdlička. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XX, 1935. 235-460 pp.

The first duty of a reviewer of a scientific work is to indicate its contents, so it is proper to copy here from the cover of this offprint: "Physical Anthropology, 'Pueblo Indians: body measurements, racial characteristics, origin.' In it Dr. Hrdlička presents results obtained from data collected during four expeditions which he made to Mexico between the years 1898 and 1910, and he thus adds another notable contribution to those numerous ones from his pen relating to most

branches of physical anthropology. The work, he says, is "not merely a report on the Pueblos, but to some extent also one on the bulk of the Indians of the 'South-west and Northern Mexico.'" An endeavour was made to exclude all except 'fullblood' Indians. The records relate to 455 male and 109 female Pueblos, and they are compared with those for 1,061 male and 453 female Indians belonging to 24 neighbouring tribes. The data are presented and discussed character by character, no records for individuals being given. Head deformation, said to have been produced almost entirely by the weight of the infant's head supported by the cushion of the cradle board, was observed in about 35 per cent. of the adults; no evidence of artificial deformation due to the application of pressure by another person was obtained. The physical characters of the Pueblo Indians determined by visual observation are concluded to be in all essentials those of American Indians in general, though a few which are peculiar to the group are noted. The crudeness of the methods used in dealing with the metrical characters can only be supposed to lessen seriously the value of this report. Distributions are only given for about half the measurements, the number of groups used in these cases being insufficient in general, and the only measures of variability used are the range between extreme values and this range expressed as a percentage of the mean. The author admits that his work is deficient in this direction, and he points out that he had no competent help. In spite of the loss in precision due to the absence of any vigorous statistical treatment, there is no reason to suspect that the general conclusions reached are in error. The most interesting of these are: "that the Pueblos are a composite group; that commonness or dissimilarity of language among them does not correspond, with few exceptions, to commonness or dissimilarity in physical characters; that in no important racial point are they different from the tribes that surround the Pueblo territory, but have never built aggregate villages; and that their basic affinities point in unexpected, though purely American, directions." No support is given to the view that non-Indian elements can be found in the Pueblo population. G. M. MORANT.

**CORRESPONDENCE.****Nomenclature of Palæolithic Finds from Fresh Regions.**

**139** STB.—In the old days when two similar types of stone implement were discovered at two widely separated sites it was not thought absurd to infer that the same culture had been responsible for them and had existed in the two regions. Nowadays we realize that the typological similarity between isolated artifacts found in different parts of the world mean little. It is still believed, however, that similarity of technique must mean something, and as knowledge increases we hear of Clacton finds in India and Uganda, and Levalloisean industries have become well-nigh universal. I venture to think that investigators should pause before ascribing their new industries to already recognized cultures elsewhere: it may be found that the particular culture did exist in the particular far-flung region, but further proof of this is generally needed, and should such proof not be forthcoming, the term for the culture becomes reduced to the status of a 'dust-bin' word. Such has probably been the case for the name 'Levalloisean' and I suspect too for 'Windmill Hill'; the name Mousterian has only just been saved.

Should a squat, thick, stubby flake be required, a certain quiet simple technique is necessary. There

results a 'Clacton' flake. But when we are dealing with unspecialized types and simple techniques we have no right to argue similarity in culture. In short, then, where highly specialized artifacts are absent, no longer can identity of culture over wide areas be adduced from the finding of similar industries, showing a similar method of manufacture.

But if typology and technology no longer provide safe guides, can nothing be done where geological correlations are impossible? I suggest that the following discipline still holds good. If in two different areas two evolving series of industries should occur in the same stratigraphical sequence, and should the evolving series in both cases be identical, or more or less so, then the same culture must have been responsible for both. Take the *coup de poing* industries of Western Europe and Kenya. In both, it is not the fact that ovates are found in both areas, that demonstrates the identity of culture, but the fact that in spite of different climatic conditions, and of different materials used for tool making, the evolutionary sequences of the industries in both regions are identical.

I venture, then, to plead with such workers as Messrs. O'Brien, Paterson, Solomon, Todd, and all others, who are bringing back from distant places such important



finds as a result of their investigations, to be careful how they assign names which have become associated with definite European cultures to the new material. At some future date, should it be shown that similar industries occur in intermediate localities and should it be possible for the geologist to affirm a similar age for the various finds, then, of course, identity of culture must be postulated and people of the same stock must have been present at that particular epoch in the various areas where the industries occurred. But we are a long way yet from such certainties and in the meantime local names for the new industries are safer and lead to less confusion.

M. C. BURKITT.

#### Ancient Amazonite. (Cf. MAN, 1935, 49.)

**140** SIR.—I have chanced upon what appears to be the probable source of amazonite at Mohenjo-daro.

Bruce Foote in 'Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities,' page 142, speaking of a protohistoric site on the Hirapur plateau on the right bank of the Sabarmati, near the village of Derol, just north of Ahmedabad, says:—

"The selected stones that chiefly attracted my attention, because they had been so manifestly brought there by human agency, were pebbles and fragments of a lovely pale green Amazon stone (a felspar), of which I had noticed many crystals in granite veins in the bed of the river some distance further up."

As this locality is less than 400 miles from Mohenjo-daro, Amazonite from this area would be a reasonable proposition, and would not require the complicated forwarding organization suggested by a source in the Nilgiris (where in any case it is not found) or in Trans-Baikalia, a matter of 3,000 miles at the very least.

For practical purposes it may provisionally be taken that the source for the Amazonite at Ur is Armenia, 700 miles away, though it may occur closer, and that of Mohenjo-daro is the Sabarmati in northern Gujerat.

As the Nilgiri origin of Amazonite is repeated by Mr. Mackay on page 199 of 'The Indus Civilization,' it is time that these trade connections were checked and revised. On the same page stag's horns are referred to Kashmir, but on page 189 these are said to be Sambur horns and the Sambur does not, and probably never did, exist in Kashmir. Burke's Shikar Book records a head shot at Mr. Abu, and another, shot in Kathiawar. As the habitat of the Sambur and that of the Barking Deer are for the most part identical, and the latter are to this day recorded in Sind, it is unlikely that the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro had far to look for their Sambur horns.

The provenance of all these more uncommon articles might, one feels, yield to a contractile process, bringing them into less romantic but more acceptable bounds.

While on the subject of the Indus Valley Culture, it is interesting to notice that neither Prof. Gordon Childe nor Mr. Mackay have referred to the two Harappa statuettes; as these are supposed by some to represent the summit of Indus Valley culture in the third millennium, they should have at least received the recognition of a mention. Mr. Hargreaves refused to agree with Mr. Sarup Vats on this point, and he has, I am positive, the approval of all unprejudiced students of Indian archaeology. These figures are either of great antiquity or they are not, and it is a pity that these authors, whose names carry such great weight, have not pronounced against their antiquity or confirmed it by irrefutable argument, though the latter would be a most unenviable task.

Guides House, Mardan, N.W. F.P.

D. H. GORDON.

#### FREUD AND ANTHROPOLOGY: A Correction. Cf. MAN, 1936, 98.

**141** By an unfortunate oversight, the concluding paragraphs of Dr. Géza Róheim's article *Freud and Anthropology*, (MAN, 1936, 98.) were omitted when it was sent to the printer. They are printed below with the Editor's apology.

I do not dispute the fact that there are great quantitative differences when we compare a neurosis to a type of culture. A day-dream is one thing and a work of art another, yet there is an essential relationship between the two.<sup>9</sup> A neurosis or phantasy which, instead of separating the individual from others, unites him with his fellows has certainly functional significance and involves a progressive and object-seeking step in reality adjustment instead of the regressive and narcissistic trends of an individual neurosis. If R. Benedict<sup>10</sup> contends that every individual form of culture found in different areas corresponds to an individual solution of difficulties, psycho-analysis fully endorses this view. With this difference that we claim to be able to show deeper motives and a more genetic aspect of phenomena

than the 'Struktur' psychology of Köhler et consortes.

In psycho-analysis we have an experimental method which enables us to study the origin and the passing away of cultural phenomena and their exact relation to instinctual gratification. A science of culture which does not know how to use the concepts of the super-ego,<sup>11</sup> of repression, sublimation or substitute formation, deprives itself of the best tools that are available for the understanding of its own data.

Freud has given us a method, a tool to use in the interpretation of human nature. Of human nature in all its aspects, individual and collective, pathological and normal. He has done more to further the great aim of *gnôthi seauton* than any other man before him, in the history of mankind.

<sup>9</sup> H. Sachs, *Gemeinsame Tagträume*, Zeitschrift für Psycho-analyse, VI, 395.

<sup>10</sup> R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, 1935.

<sup>11</sup> M. E. Opler, *The Psycho-analytic Treatment of Culture*, The Psycho-analytic Review, XXII, 1935, 138, fails to grasp the meaning of these terms.









A. CRYSTAL SKULL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

*By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum : about  $\frac{2}{3}$  actual size.*



B. CRYSTAL SKULL IN THE BURNEY COLLECTION.

*By permission of W. Sydney Burney : about  $\frac{2}{3}$  actual size.*



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate I-J.

Morant.

#### A MORPHOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF TWO CRYSTAL SKULLS. *By G. M. Morant.*

**142** It appears that there are only two *life-size* representations of the human skull in rock-crystal known to be in existence. One of these is preserved in the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum and the other is in the possession of Mr. Sydney Burney. The following note concerns a comparison of the two specimens considered solely from a morphological point of view. The writer is indebted to Captain T. A. Joyce and to Mr. Burney for permission to handle and measure the precious objects and for the photographs here reproduced.

The right-profile and full-face photographs (Plate I-J and Fig. 1) convey an excellent impression of their general appearance. Identical or closely similar features which may be noted are almost perfect bilateral symmetry, the absence of any indication of sutures, the almost complete absence of a glabellar prominence or superciliary ridges (this and other characters suggesting femaleness in both cases), the slight curvature of the median sagittal sections of the vault and occiput, and the absence of any indication of the position of the lambda. The median section of the frontal region of the Burney specimen is rather more protruding than that of the other, but there is not the slightest suggestion in either case that the skull (or skulls) copied was artificially deformed. Seen from the front the brain-boxes appear well-filled, but not unnaturally so. Other unusual features common to the two specimens are the unnatural straightness of the median sections of the facial skeletons, the prominence of the anterior nasal spines, and the verticality of the rami of the mandibles seen from in front. The minimum breadths of the rami in both cases are found as low down as possible, so that one terminal of the measurement is at the angle (gonion). This last feature is quite exceptional, but mandibles exhibiting it are occasionally found in long series.

The only marked differences between the crystals are observed in the conformation of the facial and basal regions. The British Museum skull is in one piece, but the Burney has the lower jaw detached. The former has unnaturally round orbits and little attempt was made to excavate the zygomatic arches or mastoid processes; the latter indicates all these features in a far more natural way. The dentitions are indicated as complete in both cases, and practically no attempt was made to show the shapes of different teeth, though in this respect, also, the Burney skull is more life-like than the other. In a word, the facial part of the British Museum specimen is a crude representation, and that of the Burney crystal was far more successful judged from an anatomical point of view. A circular depression on the base of the former indicates the position of the foramen magnum, but apart from this no attempt was made in either case to show any details in the basal region.

Owing to the absence of sutures, few of the usual measurements can be taken at all accurately. The most reliable ones are for the glabellar-occipital length 177, 174 (the reading for the British Museum specimen being given first); maximum calvarial breadth 135, 140; cephalic index 76.3, 80.5; bizygomatic breadth 117, 117; nasal breadth 22, 24; breadth of left orbit 34.5, 37.5; height of left orbit 37, 33.5; left orbital index 107.2, 89.3. No one of these measurements would be at all exceptional for an actual skull except the orbital index for the British Museum specimen which appears to



be slightly removed from the human range for this character. At the same time the other measurements are in remarkably close accordance.

A more interesting comparison can be made by superposing the outlines. The lateral photograph of the British Museum crystal (Plate I-J A) shows the right profile exactly. That of the Burney specimen (B) on the same plate is not a perfectly true profile view as both mastoid processes and both sides of the nasal aperture can be seen, but the divergence from the *norma lateralis* is only slight. These photographs were

marked divergence is only found between the two pairs of lines representing the zygomatic arches. A diagram showing the superposed natural size tracings derived from the full-face photographs Fig. 1 A-B is not given as it would be misleading to some extent. Both show full-face views almost exactly, but to correspond with the superposition made in Fig 2A the British Museum specimen should show less of the cranial vault than the other does, and it actually shows more. The photographs available are sufficiently close to the ideal ones, however, to make it



FIG. 1 (A.) BRITISH MUSEUM SKULL.



(B.) MR. BURNEY'S SKULL.

copied and enlarged prints of each made exactly natural size. Tracings of the outlines and a few other lines which could be easily seen were then made and superposed, the result being given in Fig. 2A. The method of superposing the tracings to give the best agreement was clearly to place one outline of the facial skeleton on top of the other as these two are almost identical. The outlines of the brain-boxes then diverge to an appreciable extent, but certainly not more than would those of two female skulls picked at random from a series representing a single race. The margins of the orbits are not far apart and

possible to say that the following relations would be found from enlargements obtained from the latter; the outlines of the lower jaws, the teeth lines and the nasal apertures would be practically coincident; the breadth at the zygomatic arches would be identical, but the difference in the forms of the arches would again be apparent; immediately above them the outline of the Burney skull would fall outside the other (to the extent of about 2 mm. on either side), but they would then approach again until close to the vaults where the slight difference in height would again become apparent; finally, the orbits would be



seen to be higher in the Burney specimen. The close correspondence between the two outlines is again remarkable.

The above comparison makes it impossible to avoid the conclusion that the crystal skulls are not of independent origin. It is almost inconceivable that two artificers, having no connection with one another, and using different human skulls as models, should have produced specimens so closely similar in form as these two are. In the writer's opinion it is safe to conclude that they are representations of the same human skull, though one may have been copied from the other. The only essential differences between them are clearly due to the fact that in fashioning the Burney crystal care was taken to make some features, which are crudely modelled in the other, more life-like, as in making the lower jaw separate and giving the orbits, zygomatic arches and mastoid processes the similitude of their natural forms. Ethnologists would probably suggest that if one was copied from the other then the more finished is the later, but it is not easy to accept this explanation. We may suppose that the British Museum specimen was modelled from a human

skull, and that at some later date the original crystal was copied by another craftsman who used another human skull to guide him in making some features more realistic. But this craftsman must be credited with some knowledge of anatomy, for otherwise the substitution of a false model for the real one would have been very likely to lead to some anatomical abnormalities in his product, although none are actually observed. No decisive answer can be given to questions of this kind, but, whatever the relation between the two artefacts may be, it is practically certain that they are primarily derived, directly or indirectly, from a single human prototype. The question of what race this belonged to is also one which cannot be answered decisively. Comparisons between Fig. 2A and type contours available for English cranial series suggests that it was as orthognathous, or more orthognathous, than the average European cranium. An American Indian skull would be expected to have more projecting jaws, and a broader and higher facial skeleton. Intra-racial variation is so great, however, that it would be rash to assert that an American Indian could not have possessed the skull which was copied.

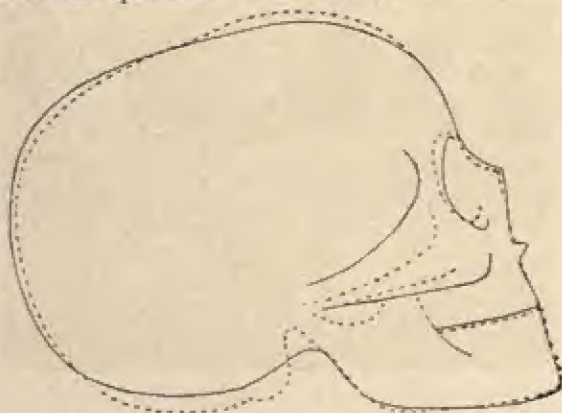


FIG. 2. (A) COMPARED BY DR. MORANT.



(B) COMPARED BY MR. DIGBY.

Digby.

**COMMENTS ON THE MORPHOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF TWO CRYSTAL SKULLS.** *By Adrian Digby, British Museum.*

**143** Dr. Morant's morphological comparison of the two skulls is of considerable interest, and while any suggestions which may be made are of necessity speculative, it is interesting to consider the implications of Dr. Morant's opinion that both models are related in so far as they are ultimately based on the same original. Three possibilities are open to us. First, that both

models were made at some time directly from the original postulated by Dr. Morant. Secondly, that the Burney skull was made directly from the original and that at a later date the British Museum specimen was copied from it by a man knowing considerably less anatomy than the maker of the Burney skull. The third explanation, which is favoured by Dr. Morant, is that the



Museum skull was copied from an original skull and that at a later date the Burney skull was a sort of composite copy relying for its proportions on the skull now in the Museum and for its anatomical detail on some human skull in the possession of the carver.

Each of these hypotheses is open to grave difficulties. If it is assumed that both models are modelled directly from the same original why is there so much difference between the two? The stylized Museum specimen with the lower jaw carved integrally would hardly be the work of the same man who produced Mr. Burney's accurate model. Also it is probable from the stylistic differences that they are not contemporary. This means that the original 'source' skull was a particularly important skull, probably belonging to a culture hero or warrior, a 'Museum piece,' as it were, to which various craftsmen would have access, or alternatively that the skull was the property of a particular family of craftsmen, and that one model was made by a descendant of the maker of the other. Dr. Morant draws particular attention to the feminine or infantile characteristics of both skulls; so it is unlikely that the model is based on a 'Museum piece,' for such a skull would almost certainly be a representation of the deathgod, a male character, or of a warrior. But the writer can conceive no other set of circumstances which would, without the use of pure coincidence, account for different craftsmen at different times having access to the same original.

The technique will not help us to settle their relative ages for in neither case is there any trace of identifiable tool marks, and it is certain that neither specimen was made with steel tools. On the teeth there is no trace of a lapidary's wheel which would betray one or both specimens as being of comparatively modern origin. But the other crystal skulls, notably the specimen in the Trocadero Museum (G. F. Kuntz, 'Gems and Precious Stones of North America'), and a miniature specimen in the British Museum, not only have the lower jaw carved integrally with the rest, but the partly conventional circular drillings for the eyes are found more nearly akin to the British Museum specimen than to Mr. Burney's.

The second suggestion, that the British Museum skull is derived from (one might almost say descended from) the Burney skull is not impossible.

Prof. Balfour has frequently demonstrated the process of evolution or degeneration which can occur when a design is copied by different people. On these grounds it would be quite possible to argue that since the British Museum crystal skull resembles its 'ancestor' less than Mr. Burney's resembles the same 'ancestor,' it must be a more distant relation as it were.

But we must remember that the Museum skull is more like the other known specimens, especially about the jaw and zygomatic arches, and therefore more likely to date from Mexican times than Mr. Burney's. This last fact favours the view that Mr. Burney's skull is, as it were, the offspring of the Museum skull, and a real skull in which the profile of the Museum skull has been preserved, but improved on by a later artist's observations of a real skull. This of course is possible, but it is extraordinary that anybody wishing to carve a skull out of rock crystal, and taking a real skull as his model should modify its dimensions to fit those of another crystal skull which he would see was but a poor copy of nature. It shows a perverted ingenuity such as one would expect to find in a forger, but Mr. Burney's skull bears no traces of recent (metal age) workmanship; so this suggestion may almost certainly be dismissed.

There are large objections to each of the three explanations of the similarity between the two skulls, and it is very hard to agree that with Dr. Morant's view both skulls are related. It is only with great trepidation that I venture to disagree with such a distinguished anthropologist as Dr. Morant, but technological considerations make it very hard to agree with him.

Dr. Morant's comparison is very impressive, especially his superimposed plan (Fig. 2A), but one of the difficulties which must have faced Dr. Morant has been the difficulty of orientating the two crystal skulls in exactly the same plane. There do not seem to be any key points which will aid in orientating the two skulls on the Frankfort plane or Thompson's plane. The only alternative was to superimpose the two profiles and orientate them until they seemed most nearly coincided. Dr. Morant has done this, paying particular attention to the facial regions. This makes the frontal portion of Mr. Burney's skull higher than that of the Museum specimen, and the basal regions lower. If, instead, two profiles are superimposed (Fig. 2B.) so that the



two outlines of the brain-box portion of the skull coincide as nearly as possible it will be found that the lower portions of the zygomatic arches are more nearly parallel (though that of the Burney skull appears slightly below that of the Museum skull instead of slightly above it), and the face becomes slightly more orthognathous, and therefore slightly more European in type than the Museum specimen. This is all in accordance with the deductions which are to be drawn from general

appearance of the two skulls. It would, however, be extremely rash to suggest that either skull was of European rather than Mexican manufacture.

Until further evidence is available on the whole subject of crystal skulls no definite conclusions can be reached, and in spite of the remarkable similarity of outline which Dr. Morant has demonstrated, it still appears unwise to assume that the two skulls are based on the same original.

Morant.

#### **TWO CRYSTAL SKULLS.** *Dr. Morant's Reply to Mr. Digby's Comments.*

**144** Mr. Digby allows me to comment on his remarks relating to the way in which the outlines of the two specimens are superposed in Fig. 2A. It seems to me that there is full justification in such a case for arguing from the relations found when the best possible fit has been obtained, without regard to any arbitrary plane of the skull. This appears to be the one shown when account is taken of both facial and calvarial outlines. If the calvarial are considered alone a rotation of one might be considered to give a rather better agreement, though

the regions of the nasal bridges and the facial outlines will then diverge markedly. The remarkable resemblance between the median outlines of the facial skeletons seems to be quite sufficient in itself to indicate that there is a direct relation between the two 'skulls.' If one was copied from the other, than it may well be that this part was copied first and that the shape of the remainder of the block of crystal did not permit as exact a reproduction of the form of the brain-box.

Braunholtz.

#### **TWO CRYSTAL SKULLS.** *Further Comments by H. J. Braunholtz, British Museum.*

**145** The B.M. skull is definitely far more 'conventionalized' than the Burney specimen. The cranium has a perfectly smooth contour, the eyes are circular, and the teeth merely indicated. These peculiarities are in accordance with the general character of ancient Mexican art; It would be hard to quote a single specimen in which anatomical detail is fully and faithfully recorded without some degree of 'stylization.' This is particularly the case with the Aztec stone masks and figures of deities, most of which are highly conventional.

On the other hand, the Burney skull pays considerable attention to the correct rendering of detail; minor protuberances on the cranium are carefully modelled; as Dr. Morant points out, the orbits approximate to nature. Such realism seems beyond the ordinary range of Aztec art, and gives the skull the character almost of an anatomical study in a scientific age.

In any comparison of these two skulls, this difference of spirit seems to me to be a crucial factor, and one which should be given full weight in drawing conclusions.

Laidler.

#### **THE KRAAL AND THE HUT OF THE NAMA HOTTENTOT OF LITTLE NAMAQUALAND.** *By P. W. Laidler.*

**146** (*The clicks, dental, cerebral, palatial, and lateral, are represented by the initial letter and a stroke.*)

In 1661<sup>1</sup> there was a kraal of seventy-three huts a little to the north of Olifants' River. They formed a circle, outside of which stood three huts occupied by Hottentots who possessed no cattle and who acted as messengers between that and the other kraals. The community consisted of three hundred men who possessed four hundred

thousand sheep with which they moved from pasture to pasture. Another kraal consisted of twenty or more huts arranged circularly, with a narrow entrance to the courtyard. Doors always opened to the inside of the kraal, where at night the cattle were kept. According to Graevenbroek<sup>2</sup> (1695), and he is corroborated by others, the doors always opened towards the east.

The materials required for building a hut are: reeds for the mats, sinews or the inner bark of

<sup>1</sup> Liebbbrandt's 'Precis of the Cape Archives,' Vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Graevenbroek: 'Letter,' reprinted Z. A. Tydschrift, 1886, and V.R.S., 1933.



the mimosa thorn chewed, rolled, and so converted into string; a sliver of wood, a thorn, or an iron needle to pierce the reeds and to act as needle. Rushes, *D/naru*, are of three kinds: *C/o*, thin pointed reeds; *P/gu*, those commonly used, which are thicker; *C/obobi*, poor, spongy and seldom used. The reeds are sorted as to quality, arranged as to size, and made of even length. Six or seven are pierced at a time and threaded at intervals of approximately 4 inches. Each mat, when complete, is about 3 feet in breadth and 6 to 12 feet in length.

The rigid supports of the hut, the poles, are made of young thorn trees prepared by burning off the bark, soaking them in water to render them supple, and bending to the required curve by laying them on the ground, their butts held fast between pegs, while other pegs hold the pole in the requisite curve. Once prepared, they keep their shape. Poles and huts are moved (originally on oxback but now on waggon or cart) from place to place, with great ease.

In the building of the hut, a series of holes is made with a sharp pointed stick in the ground round a prepared circle, each hole trending downwards and inwards; into each the butt of a pole is placed, the door poles first, arching over the circle, so that when the free ends of the poles have been secured the one to the other by strips of hide, the hut framework grips the site and can be moved only by a very strong wind. Over the framework the mats are placed. When reeds were scarce, skins were used. Poles on moving a hut are always cleansed by being washed and rubbed with a mixture of red earth and water

boiled in a pot. This mixture is known as *C/nou*. The poles are *C/nana gu*<sup>2</sup>, or, as pronounced by Johannes, *P/karraku*. The mats are *d/garu ti*<sup>3</sup>, *D/aroo* (Johannes). The verb to build is *om*.<sup>4</sup> The mat hut is *D/aroo oms*, or *om*. Sometimes a name is given to each mat, such as 'stand mat,' for the bottom one, and 'back mat' for the top one, but these seem to have been given in deference to the request conveyed by leading questions.

The huts in olden times were all exactly alike, from 18 to 24 feet in diameter, very low in the centre, being about 5½ feet high. The door was about 3 feet in height. Within, the Namaquas dug out the floor to a depth of a foot as a protection to the inhabitants against the wind.<sup>5,7</sup> According to Stow,<sup>6</sup> only the fireplace was dug out to this depth. To-day, there is no interference with the level, and skins are used against the wall to protect the sleeper from wind. Furniture as described in 1661 consisted of large wooden narrow-necked bowls hollowed out of a solid block; gourds, some of which had a capacity of thirty quarts, in which milk was collected. There would, of course, be two or three cooking pots. The fireplace was in the centre of the hut, and at night they slept around it. The door was the only large outlet for smoke, but there is wonderfully little smoke from a small fire made of the dry wood of Namaqualand. Skins above and beneath the sleeper keep him warm. Spare karosses, or skin rugs, bows, quivers full of arrows, would be hung on the side of the hut. The huts of the wealthy were often hung with beautiful skins.

Gates.

**TIBETAN BLOOD-GROUPS.** By Professor R. Ruggles Gates, King's College, London.

**147** Studies of the blood-groups of American Indians led to the search for an Asiatic people of similar physiognomy who might be sufficiently high in the O blood-group to have been ancestral to the Indians. One such people whose blood-groups are wholly unknown are the Tibetans. Through the kindness of Sir Francis Younghusband, I got into communication with Captain David Tennant, I.M.S., who was stationed at Gyantse, Tibet, and arranged to send him the necessary sera. The serum was sent from the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, after being previously tested with European sera, kindly supplied

by the Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratory, London.

The results which were finally obtained are given below. They are quite unexpected and very unusual.

	O.	A.	B.	AB.	Total
	28	88	26	45	= 187
%	14.9	47.1	13.9	24.1	

By applying the formula  $\sqrt{N} = \sqrt{A + O} + \sqrt{B + O} - \sqrt{O}$ , it is evident, however, that the results do not depart significantly from expectation in a homogeneous or well-mixed population.

<sup>2</sup> Hahn: 'Tsunig Goom,' 1882.

<sup>3</sup> Tyndall, 'Grammar and vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Language,' Cape Town, 1852.

<sup>5</sup> Campbell: 'Travels in South Africa,' 1882.

<sup>6</sup> Stow: 'Native Races of South Africa.'

<sup>7</sup> Ten Rhyn, in 'Churchill's Voyages.'



Of the numerous blood-grouping results listed by Steffan (1932), only one has a higher percentage of AB, and that is a series of only 111 individuals



FIG. 1. CHONGPON, AGE 29. PASANGDORPA, AGE 55.

from Southern Hungary in which AB = 28.8 per cent. Another test of 243 from the same region gives 20.6 per cent. AB. Some of the Ainu show 25 per cent. AB, the Japanese usually run about 10-15 per cent., but some are as high as 20 per cent., and some Russian communities about 15-20 per cent. AB.

The 187 Tibetans tested included 119 males and 68 females, their ages ranging from 6 years to 55, but nearly all adults, in Gyantse and district, except three women who came from Darjeeling, Dochon and Lhasa respectively. The three accompanying photographs from Dr. Tennant (Figs. 1-3) are of 'good Tibetan stock.' It is evident from these results, which are apparently the first Tibetan blood-groups to be published,

that these Tibetans, having less than 15 per cent. of O, are at the opposite pole from the American Indians in this respect. No record from any other race shows such a low percentage of O, many races showing 30-50 per cent. Certain tests of Ainu and of Formosans give 17.5 per cent. O, but the numbers tested were very small. Another peculiar feature of these Tibetan results is that AB is nearly double the frequency of B. The percentage of A appears to be the highest recorded for Central Asiatic peoples,



FIG. 2. GONJOLI, AGE 34.



FIG. 3. WANGDL, AGE 44.

being definitely higher than the Chinese and much higher than the Hindoos. A higher percentage of A is only found in peripheral peoples, such as the Lapps, Bushmen or Australian aborigines.

The Tibetans are then well saturated with the blood-groups, and the result is such as might be expected from a people originally very high in A meeting a people, such as the Chinese, with a high proportion (ca. 35 per cent.) of B. It is hoped that it may be possible soon to confirm and extend these Tibetan results.

Laidler<sup>1</sup>

#### NAMA HOTTENTOT TRIBES. By P. W. Laidler.

**148** (*The clicks, dental, cerebral, palatal and lateral, are represented by d, c, p and l with a stroke.*)

Kolben states that there were seventeen nations of Hottentots in the Cape in 1705. Paterson,<sup>1</sup> in 1779, mentions the Veldschoon-wearers near the Orange River, so named because they wore a piece of leather for a sole fastened to the toes in

front and to the heel behind. Stow<sup>2</sup> gives their name as *Kannamaparrisip*, and also remarked that south of the river (1823) lived the *Obesees*, by which no doubt is intended the *D/kobisi* of the Kamiesberg. Hahn mentions the last-named, and also the *C/gona*, *L/ammi*, *C/goraX/a*, *P/nu-be*, *D/Kora*, *L/habobee*, *C/gammiP/nu*, *Outeni*. Saul, an intelligent informant in the Rechtersveld, provided

<sup>1</sup> Paterson: 'The Hottentots and Kaffraria.' London, 1789.

<sup>2</sup> Stow: 'The Native Races of South Africa.'



the following explanations of the term *D/kobisi*, from *D/kobin*, the pirate bee; *D/* or *P/ nabobeen* from *P/naboon* bees, and these were, he stated, the Veldschoon wearers who lived to the north of the river. I attach little importance to this matter of Veldschoon wearing, for such also were

worn further south. To these he added the names of two other tribes *P/aouni* who lived in the north of Namaqualand, and the *P/kaouniki* or the People of the Mountain who lived around Stein kopf, which appear to be unrecorded.

Europe : Prehistoric.

Benton.

A MINOAN VASE FROM MACEDONIA. By Sylvia Benton.

**149** In the American publication *Excavations at Olynthus*, Vol. V, p. 40, Mr. Mylonas describes the vase numbered P. 69 and figured on Plates 37, 38, as "among the best works" of the pre-Persian Olynthian potters," and dates it, p. 59, along with the rest of his Group III, "to the sixth century, probably to the second half of it, and the beginning of the fifth century."

But this vase, which is in the style known as 'Late Minoan Ia,' must have been made by a Cretan potter in the sixteenth century, B.C.



A MINOAN VASE FROM MACEDONIA.

We may agree with Mr. Mylonas that the vase was made locally, but must postulate an emigrant potter. Although all Mr. Mylonas' photographs of this vessel are taken from above, they foreshorten, but cannot conceal, the long gradual curve from the base, found in many Minoan handled-jars, jugs, spouted-jugs and other shapes. I do not

agree with Mr. Mylonas that the indeterminate, out-and-in curve of the spreading cushion-like base occurs on the example he cites; or, I believe, on any other geometric pottery. It is a common shape in Crete in Minoan times (see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, Pl. IXc and Fig. 312a) and occurs on a jar of late Minoan I style in the fourth Shaft-grave at Mycenae. The arrangement of the decoration is perfectly architectonic, there is none of the exuberant confusion common in vases of the succeeding periods, e.g., at Kakovatos. The ivy in front and on the lowest friezes combines orderly arrangement with naturalistic treatment, as on the base of a jar which is of our shape and of late Minoan date, found in the Mavro Spelio Cave, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXVIII, p. 268, Fig. 21. The wavy-line frieze is too common in Crete to require illustration, and the Swastika is a favourite motive there (see *Palace of Minos*, I, Figs. 256, 260, 519b, all of Middle Minoan date). It is common on mainland vases of the 'Late Minoan Ib' period. For the motive of the handle compare *Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 301.

No doubt one vase does not prove a Cretan occupation. But was there only one vase? The excavators were evidently not prepared for a Minoan discovery, and though they noted the resemblance of a granary at Olynthus (Part II, p. 2) to the 'kaselles' of Knossos, a whole vase has escaped their notice, even after it had been reconstructed for study. May not other fragments have suffered a similar fate in the field? Two Mycenaean sherds in the Museum at Salonika are probably imports and of late Minoan II date. I was unable to find at Salonika the 'pithos' (Part II, Fig. 28), which comes from that granary, but I hope that a better photograph may eventually be made of it.

A good many vases of Mr. Mylonas' Group III have been dated too low, vases numbered P. 53 and P. 71 are sub-Mycenaean in style and should not be dated later than 1100 B.C. From the illustration, Plate 22E may be geometric, while



two unpublished sherds and at least one vase are in a local geometric style and show intercourse with the South Ægean in the period 900-700 B.C. The vase P. 48 should be dated about 700 B.C. Two imported fragments of 'bird bowls' in the so-called Naukratie style should also be recorded here.

Hitherto archaeologists have believed that there are no traces of Mycenaean or Cretan influence in Macedonia before 1400 B.C., but the material will now have to be re-examined. Swastikas are found in many cultures; but it is rather suggestive to see one, so like those on the jar from Olynthus, on a jug found by M. Rey at Gona. Rey places this jug in his 'Second Incised Style' (*Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, 1917-19, p. 213). Mr. Heurtley would place it in the First Style, but says that this style sometimes occurs in his Third Macedonian period (*Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXVII, p. 16), which begins, according to him, in 1600 B.C. We

note the queer little spider-like ornament from Macedonia (op. cit., p. 189). Next to it is a somewhat similar ornament said to come from Cappadocia, where Sir Arthur Evans tells me he has already detected early Mycenaean or Cretan influence. Both forms are used as filling ornaments on vases found at Mycenae.

It is interesting that three big jars, found by the Italian School at Lemnos, and now in the National Museum at Athens (Levi, *Illustrated London News*, 28th February, 1931, p. 328 ff) must be descended from vases like the jar from Olynthus. The curves of the body and base are only slightly more definite, the rims have altered in various ways, and the handles have flattened. Hellenic motives appear in the decoration, combined (once at least) with spirals which must be derived from this pre-Hellenic period. A figure scene on the shoulder of one of these jars dates it to the seventh century.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

### PATTERNS OF CULTURE.

A Symposium between the British Psychological Society (Medical Section) and the Royal Anthropological

Institute: 27th May, 1936. By Dr. C. G. Seligman, F.R.S.

150

I have sometimes thought that 'pattern' is not quite the right term to use in connection with the subject that we are to discuss to-night. The word seems to me to suggest a certain definite quality of symmetry, or of all-round integration, which most cultures do not show. If the term 'patterns of culture' had not got so fair a start I should have preferred some such term as 'culture mosaic.' A mosaic, as we all know, may be of any degree of elaboration, and this holds equally of the cultures we study. A mosaic may exhibit well-defined patterns, or it may be a mere scatter of different coloured tesserae; moreover, the tesserae are held together by a matrix, and I believe that in studying so-called patterns of culture attention should equally be paid to an element comparable to the matrix of a mosaic. If I may be allowed to develop my metaphor, this matrix or cementing substance will in the first place consist of some of the deeper trends or fundamental attitudes of the human psyche, including, perhaps, ethnic elements and possibly fixations resulting from infantile experiences, if these are sufficiently general to affect the majority of children of a social group. Compare the treatment of infants and the adult character and behaviour of the Arapesh and Mundugumor as described by Dr. Margaret Mead in *Sex and Temperament in three Primitive Societies*.

I must make clear that when I use the term 'ethnic' I refer only to the so-called primary races

of mankind, those great divisions which, taking *Homo sapiens* as the species, we may well term sub-species. It is the less necessary for me to labour this subject as I have recently examined it elsewhere, 'Psychology and Racial Differences' in *Psychology and Modern Problems* (1935), an examination which leads me to believe that there may be psychological differences between the primary sub-species of mankind, and that there is definite evidence that such differences exist between Australians and European Caucasians. But even if there are such differences, this does not help us greatly in our present discussion; though any diminution in the degree of adaptability to environment which they may exert must be considered in any discussion dealing with patterns of culture. There is, moreover, a time-element to be considered, and we may well ask (though we know no answer is possible) how closely comparable are the culture mosaics of the Australians and of our own hunting ancestors of late palaeolithic times, for it seems to be generally acknowledged that an element anatomically indistinguishable from Cro-Magnon man enters into the population of south-west France, and pre-Neolithic elements have been described as contributing to the present population of our own country. There is no cardinal difference in the utilization of bone and stone in the food quest, while the evidence of the caves goes to show that Magdalenian man claimed much the same magical powers over the animals forming his sustenance as do the Australians of the present day.



A much more important question, and one which, if not answerable at present, need not perhaps remain for ever unsolved, is whether with the predominance of either of the two great types of feeling and behaviour which we respectively call *extravert* and *introvert*—or, as Dr. Ruth Benedict calls them, *Dionysiac* and *Apollonian* (for by these terms she seems to refer to the same differences in temperament)—there exist or tend to exist such relatively constant differences in culture-pattern that some day we may be able broadly to correlate each of these two types of feeling and behaviour with certain qualities in culture-pattern. It must, however, be remembered that (except pathologically) there are no complete extraverts and introverts, and to me the general reading of history suggests that any given people may at different times exhibit varying phases or degrees of either quality. It is a matter that would well repay investigation to determine how far such variations may be brought about by men of outstanding ability; how far may a really great man, aware (let us say) of the predominantly extravert type of his people, succeed in enforcing in certain matters an introvert type of conduct? Confucianism in China, and perhaps the tea-ceremony in Japan, are, I think, instances of such enforced traits. There is, however, the further question, how far is the success of these doctrines due to either conscious or unconscious compensation? The Confucian system, as it existed in its most developed form, might indeed be considered an example of over-compensation. It must be realized that both Confucianism in its classical form and the cult of the tea-ceremony have only influenced a portion of the peoples concerned, though these portions have until the last few years been the most important strata. Again, the introduction of a new food or a new animal may profoundly affect culture pattern; the introduction of the horse into America perhaps affords the outstanding example.

As to the culture-pattern itself, I should like to stress the importance of the cult of the dead in the vast majority of these cultures that we call primitive, even though its existence be not very obvious to the observer in daily life and ceremony. Let me take two peoples of whom I have personal knowledge, neither having any belief in a High God. Among one people, the Veddas of Ceylon, the dominant motif of life, apart from the food-quest with which it is inextricably interwoven, is the cult of the dead; every ceremony is an overt act of offering and worship. Among the Koita of New Guinea, the dead are thought of as continually present in the villages and constitute the background of belief, though apart from funeral and mourning rites there is practically no formal cult. I do not think we dare invoke a difference in reaction to explain this difference in practice—both groups seem to me extravert—nor can it be said that the cult of the dead is particularly associated with those peoples who we conveniently call Hunters and Food-gatherers. Indeed, worship of the dead is so intimately associated with the various ways of life that we call primitive, that (returning to the

metaphor I used at the beginning of these remarks) I may suggest to you that it is a matrix-feature of primitive culture.

I fear these few observations illumine the difficulty of the subject rather than the subject itself. For attempts to isolate and describe the dominant features of particular cultures, reference must be made especially to the works of Drs. Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, which will surely be in the minds of speakers to-night.

**151** By Professor J. C. Flügel.

Ruth Benedict's work is an attempt to apply the conception of *Gestalt* to culture. *Gestalt* psychology has been so fertile in suggesting new theoretical viewpoints and in devising experiments (especially but not exclusively in the field of perception) that the possibility of its application to sociology and anthropology constitutes a problem of great interest.

Benedict's description, in terms of pattern, of three selected cultures suggests that Wertheimer's 'Law of *Prägnanz*:' (that the organization is the 'best' possible which the given conditions allow) holds not only of perception but of culture formation, though the patterns in the latter case result from the interplay of complex conative trends.

No complex culture is completely integrated, i.e., describable in terms of one pattern. Hence there is need of a careful survey of each major institution of a culture to ascertain how far the dominant pattern is found therein.

Inter-cultural correlations may also help to reveal certain factors commonly operative in the formation of patterns (cf. Unwin's work on Sex and Culture.)

But these methods do not necessarily reveal the delicate interaction of conative forces whereby a pattern is produced. Here clinical psychology may help by pointing to certain processes that have been found to be of importance in the formation of individual character. Anthropology may reveal the same or similar processes at work in the determination of cultural patterns. Infantile traumata (cf. Róheim), the major complexes, the nature of super-ego—id compromises, &c.; these may all reveal themselves as pattern formants.

The culture pattern of western society varies greatly in time and comparatively little in space (cf. 'fashionable' dress). It also varies, as Benedict points out, from section to section of the community (cf. the fascist, communist and other political programmes).

As regards the adjustment of the individual, Benedict's thought coincides largely with that of Allport. In a complex and 'free' society, however, the varying aspects of individual personality should for the most part be able to express themselves in variously patterned sub-groups and institutions.

**152** By Dr. A. I. Richards.

The pattern of a culture, as conceived by Dr. Benedict, is one of an infinite diversity of norms of



human behaviour selected for standardization by the society in question. The concept stresses the integral nature of each culture, and promises to provide a basis for a new type of comparative sociology. But in the case of the three societies analyzed temperamental differences such as love of moderation, a suspicious attitude to others, or a desire for display are sharply contrasted, while the morphological features of the cultures are not compared. It is valuable to emphasize the 'cultural' relativity of human values, but it cannot be said that the temperamental characteristics of a primitive people, as they first strike the observer, constitute a 'pattern' integrating all other aspects of the culture. They are themselves the product, not only of biological and environmental factors, but of a series of social facts—forms of kinship and local grouping, legal, political and economic institutions, native dogma, educational agencies, and, in particular, forms of early infant training, and the type of material culture reached. The relative importance of these factors in determining human character have to be discussed both from the psychological and the sociological point of view.

To be of use for comparative purposes the culture pattern concept must be further defined. The term might be used to describe either (a) the pattern of individual behaviour characteristic of members of the culture in certain typical situations; (b) the pattern of native beliefs as expressed in religious and magic dogma, and reflected in the norms of human conduct admired by the group; (c) the pattern of the social structure, i.e., the most dominant social institutions of the culture, where such can be described, such as a form of political or economic organization shaping the character of most other social relationships within the culture, or an elaborate ritual absorbing the community's activities. The material would consist in the first case of the observer's impressions; in the second of native texts; and in the third of the anthropologist's deeper analysis after a long period of field-work.

By stressing the diversity of cultural norms, Dr. Benedict should stimulate methodological developments both in psychology and in comparative sociology.

#### Ancient Peruvian Cemeteries of the Nazca Region.

**153** *Summary of a Communication presented by Dr. H. U. Doering, 9th June, 1936, Illustrated by lantern slides.*

The Inca Empire was the greatest state of the American continent before its discovery by Europeans in the sixteenth century. Its history, and the history of all the great or little kingdoms flourishing before the Inca Empire on the coast and in the Cordilleras is in truth prehistory, since until modern times no form of written document relating to historical events is known. It is necessary, therefore, to employ the methods of prehistory—to make excavations.

The Nazca region, on the southern Peruvian coast, where a beautifully painted ceramic ware is found in graves of an unknown people, is a very

important archaeological area. The lecturer, having studied the paintings of these vessels for many years, in 1932 conducted excavations of graves in three valleys of the Nazca region, working in collaboration with the Government of Peru. Uhle, Tello, Kroeber and Olsson had previously excavated many ancient Peruvian graves but the results of these excavations have not yet been published in full.

The lecturer is preparing for publication the results of his finds, especially as grave-sections, with exact indication of all pieces discovered. One of the first aims has been to establish groups of contemporaneous data—ceramics, textiles, grave-structure, etc., and so to furnish a sure foundation for relative chronology. One of the most important results of the investigation has been the determination of the 'Morro culture,' which includes the so-called 'Epigonal culture' (of Max Uhle). The Morro culture was a vigorous culture with great facility in textile technique, following chronologically the 'Early Nazca culture' (in Kroeber's terminology), and not being an epigonal decadent form of the so-called Tiahuanaco culture, as stated by Uhle. The origin of the Morro culture lies in the north-west, in the Trujillo region and further, on the Ecuadorian coast.

The importance of the Morro culture in the ancient history of the Peruvian coast, and especially in the history of the highland realms of Tiahuanaco, is great. There is a stream of culture from the farthest north-west over the southern Peruvian coast to the megalithic site on the shores of the great lake Titicaca.

**Human Biology Meeting.** 12 June, 1936. *Professor R. Ruggles Gates in the Chair.*

**154** Dr. S. Zuckerman read a paper on *Hormones and Evolution* of which a summary will appear in a later issue of MAN. The Chairman, Mrs. B. Z. Seligman, Mrs. C. Hodson and Dr. G. M. Morant took part in discussion, and Dr. Zuckerman replied.

**Concerning Human Progress.** *Summary of Presidential Address delivered by Dr. H. S. Harrison, 30 June, 1936.*

**155** In the three main aspects of human progress—the material, the psychological, and the social—there has been developed a number of what may be called 'types of satisfactions.' Beginning with food as the indisputable necessity, we may also trace the development of means of fulfilment in the material satisfactions associated with clothing, shelter, security, transport. The spiritual and æsthetic satisfactions, and those of social structure, also make many demands upon material means. From ancient satisfactions have developed modern needs, real and spurious, with their insatiable demands upon means of fulfilment, but it would not appear that man's progress has resulted from persistence in aims that he set before himself. The idea of progress in general is of recent formulation, and in discovery and invention opportunism has always been a predominant factor. A study of the detailed



(but too often hypothetical) course of evolution of individual artefacts and methods indicates an absence of directive guidance, and it is clear that man's restricted power of foresight often permitted him to enter upon lines of progress that ended blindly, in 'terminal expression-points.' If in his material culture his progress was so fortuitously guided, we must admit that in his social development the lack of direction—the misguidance—has been even more conspicuously inevitable. For an axe or a canoe there may be said to be a compulsory standard of functional efficiency, more rigorous than any comparable control of the details of a social institution; and man has no instinct to help him to design his social architecture, or compel him to keep his house in order.

It is arguable that the progress of *Homo sapiens*, throughout his career, has depended upon faculties and aptitudes comparable, if not identical, with those which determined the nature of his first Neanthropic enterprises. The three chief biological

factors that have at various times been assigned important roles in directing organic evolution, are Natural Selection, Orthogenesis, and Use-Inheritance, but none of these is now in good repute. Examination of these disputed factors from the point of view of their possible relevance to a progressive evolution of the human mind, since the first appearance of *Homo sapiens*, leads to the conclusion that as directive agencies they cannot be accepted; and that the modern type of man has remained at a standstill, mentally as well as physically. What he was, he is, and what he is, he will be. His progress has been entirely due to the accumulation of knowledge and experience, with the associated fabrication of material artefacts, and of the customs and codes of his social systems. In default of increase in mental power, his future depends upon his formulæ, and these upon the cultural instability that is called the human mind. Man's hope is in himself, and not in any speculative prospect of a mental transmutation.

## REVIEWS

### AFRICA

**Culture Areas of Nigeria.** By Wilfred D. Hambley. Field Museum of Natural History. Publication 346. Anthropological series. Vol. XXI, No. 3. 136 pp. with 68 plates and 1 map.

This book may be regarded as an attempt to tell us what we know, anthropologically speaking, of modern Nigeria. The author's method, in the comparatively short space of about a hundred pages, is always to keep in the background a correct appreciation of the various contributory culture determinants—whether they be archaeological, historical, geographical or ethnological—which go to make up the different Nigerian Cultures which he considers. He furthers his researches by an account of his journey through the main centres of Northern and Southern Nigeria, during the course of which he secured a generous supply of photographs of the several cultures noted. The result is quite a sound and reliable treatise on the 'Culture Areas' of the country, the value of which is considerably augmented by a very adequate bibliography.

In determining the nature of these 'Culture Areas,' ethnological and geographical considerations are of primary importance, the findings of archaeological science not yet being sufficient to establish any extensive generic or cultural relationship between past and present. Broadly speaking, Nigeria has been peopled by successive waves of immigration from the East along the corridor of grassland and semi-desert which lies between the Sahara and the equatorial forests. It is not known whether the Negro race is indigenous to Africa, but the Sudanic branch were the original stock in Nigeria. Owing to pressure from the Hamitic and Mohammedan invaders from the north and east, the more peaceable Negroes were driven south and now inhabit, for the most part, the belt of forest which extends inland from the coast. The true types of Negro culture are seen in the south, therefore, and they extend to a lessening degree further north according as to how they are modified by external cultural influences, racial admixture or the facts of geography. The plateau along the ninth parallel of north latitude forms a convenient geographical division and is in itself an interesting area of cultural pockets partaking of the

features of both north and south. In enumerating somatological differences along with these features the author quite rightly refrains from attributing these to environmental influences, and puts them down to racial (chiefly Hamitic) admixture. These Hamitic and the later Mohammedan invaders lived on a far more warlike basis, and this fact, as well as their nomadic habits and disdain of manual labour, tends to make the northern culture dependent principally on external influences. To these must be attributed the vertical cotton loom, working in silver, ivory and glass, brass-beating and casting and types of basketry, besides those industries centred round a camel, horse or ox culture wherever these are geographically possible. Many of these industries have penetrated in varying forms to the southern provinces, but here the strong Negro religious and social influences are chiefly felt. Thus in the forest areas we find various forms of wood and ivory carving, bronze casting and iron working, all centred round powerful craft guilds, and all bound up with the strong, social and religious elements in Negro society which are disappearing only too quickly under modern conditions. The much discussed question of the origin of the African iron industry is well set out, and in applying the alternatives of diffusion or of invention to each industry certain clear considerations—such as the presence of raw materials and the inherent usefulness of the art or industry in question—are very helpful. A large number of native occupations are interestingly described in considerable detail and well illustrated in so far as this is possible to-day. The true Negro political system is not merely a military organization on the northern pattern, but it is also religious both in its social and in its industrial aspects, with all the secret societies, age-grades, craft guilds, ancestor worship, slavery, scarification, blood-brotherhood, etc., which anthropologists have come to associate with Negro cultures everywhere. Under modern European influences the more extreme traits have been prohibited and those more moderate are largely at a discount, but the innate Negro dexterity and ingenuity can still be brought out if intelligent attention is given to it. It cannot be too often stressed how very much the spirit



of these tribes does depend on their cultures and customs, and this book will have served one very important end if, by its summaries of the different forms of native occupations and ways of thought it has shown their fundamental importance in any system of modern development. Both the technological and the sociological sides of anthropology are equally important in considering how first-class Africans rather than second-rate Europeans are to be formed. Of the beneficial effects of a correct appreciation of the sociological side we may instance the British system of Indirect Rule, and the experiments which are being made, for example, in the voluntary Co-operative Unions of native coffee growers which counter-balance the break-up of tribal life caused by the inevitable change from a subsistence to a money economy. But we are dealing first and foremost in this book with the technological side. Modern problems, as the author points out, are largely social and psychological, and must be studied against a background such as he describes, embracing all the geographical, historical and ethnological determinants which are involved.

K. S. WATT.

**Kenya: Contrasts and Problems.** By L. S. B. Leakey, M.A. London: Methuen & Co., 1936. 157 pp. xvi + 189 pp., 8 plates. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This entertaining little book is in a lighter vein than Dr. Leakey's previous works. It describes in a pleasant vein the impressions of a traveller arriving at Mombasa and thence jumps to a sketch of life in the author's homeland, the Kikuyu reserve. It goes on to give a glimpse of Kenya's past, according to his interpretation of the problem, followed by a few examples of what are termed 'Oddities of Nature,' and then a chapter on the vicissitudes of African travel.

We at length come to what the author probably considers the core of his book, viz., a critical examination of the relations of the administration, the missionaries and the colonists with the native, all very frank and tendering many views open to challenge.

The chapter on administration boldly opens with the assertion that the "chief cause of friction between the African natives and the Government of Kenya lies in the fact that the members of the administration do not really understand the African point of view." This premise seems a little sweeping, for it assumes friction, which no attempt is made to prove, and the lack of understanding is entirely based on the alleged ignorance, by officers, of the many up-country languages. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that, in spite of all their supposed deficiencies, most district officers do succeed in winning the confidence of the people, and in this way produce remarkable results. Being inarticulate, according to Dr. Leakey's standard, they possibly do it by telepathy!

With regard to his indictments of the repeated staff moves one can frankly admit that fewer moves are desirable; if officers never had leave and never suffered from ill-health matters would be easier. The point, however, that the author appears to overlook is that an administrative officer has to gain experience of many other things than native administration, all quite important; an officer who has spent, say, the first ten years of his service in Turkaña and Suk would, for instance, be quite unfitted for high command.

It would take too long to discuss the author's many criticisms of mission and colonist effort, he tries to be fair, but cannot avoid 'thinking black,' which is, perhaps, only natural considering his close contact with the Kikuyu from early youth up. It is curious how one with a scientific training can be so impressed

by native remedies, e.g., the use of zebra fat for tuberculosis.

One of the panaceas recommended is an Anthropological Survey and there is something to be said in its favour, if it is restricted to an examination on scientific lines of the social organization of each tribe together with some study of the psychological side. It is doubtful, however, whether any government would set up a permanent body of so-called anthropological experts who claimed to dictate to the administration on every native question. The more practical way would be to ensure that every administrative officer should, after the first few years of his service, i.e., when he will be able to appreciate the importance of it, be given an intensive course in social anthropology in its widest sense. Missionaries, too, would benefit by such instruction.

Space will only allow of a brief reference to the interesting chapter on the 'Future of Kenya.' The main thesis of the author is the progressive desiccation of the country, and he claims that about 850 a.c. a change of climate set in and that the country is steadily drying up, no cause is suggested, nor does he state whether this alleged secular change is confined to Kenya.

In discussing changes of climate the method of handling the data is of great importance for it is essential to differentiate between secular or long-range phenomena and temporary oscillations.

The secular trend depends on geological evidence and few will contest the dictum that during Pleistocene times there have been periods during which the water in the lakes of Central Africa has stood at a higher level than at present, and various theories are current to account for these changes. Any such changes, if one maintains a clear conception of the time scale, have been so gradual that they would probably be unnoticeable to the people in any particular century.

With regard to minor oscillations of rainfall the cause of which is often attributed to sunspot cycles of about 12 years frequency, others again uphold a Buchan cycle of 25 years, cause unknown. Whatever the cause such oscillations are well known and are discernable in the rainfall records. Unfortunately, however, such records do not go back far enough to be of much value; the Mombasa statistics began 45 years ago and, unfortunately for the pessimist, exhibit comparatively little variation when compared, decade by decade. As all the rain comes from the ocean this appears to be significant.

The rainfall on the coast is always higher than that of most up-country stations, and for some unknown reason it would appear that during certain years the monsoon falls with greater intensity than the average at the coast and with less intensity up-country, in other years the amount of rain will be below average at the coast and correspondingly above average up-country. During the last few years the former is apparently what has happened and the white settlement region has suffered accordingly.

These oscillations are believed to be of a temporary character, and it is to be deprecated that any scare should be raised by confusing such local phenomena with long-range secular change; it is unscientific, for we have as yet too little information upon which we can rely and upon which theories can be built.

C. W. H.

**L'Afrique Noire Occidentale.** By E. F. Gautier. Paris, 1935. 188 pp., illustrations.

158 This book, by Professor Gautier, of the Université d'Alger, forms the fourth volume of Series A issued by the Comité d'Etudes Historiques et



Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française. Much of the material in the present volume has already appeared in scientific publications of France and the United States; but the collection is more than welcome to students who are so often faced with the difficulty of preserving important articles gathered from international periodicals.

The first chapter of Professor Gautier's book consists of a survey of the physical characteristics of French West Africa; the second is an 'étude morphologique'; the third deals with the changes that take place in the sand-movements of the Sahara frontier; chapters four and five are devoted to the geology of the region. The strangely indented shores and opportunities offered for the building of a safe harbour engage the author's attention.

In the second section of the book Professor Gautier is occupied with governmental divisions, with rainfall and rivers; his later considerations of 'black humanity' include broad questions of agriculture. The Ivory Coast is given a chapter in which is portrayed the great area of light forests, while Professor Gautier explains the situation of the region wedged between 'perfectly anarchical' Liberia and the British-governed Gold Coast; he describes with illuminating brevity the physical conformation of the Ivory Coast, its fecundity, and the inhabitants, who all have 'the same manner of life—imposed by the forest.'

In the woodland the tsetse fly renders commerce difficult, since no beast of burden withstands its poisonous attacks, and travellers as well as the movement of goods must depend upon native help. Intensive penetration of the forest has been attempted only since 1918, and has rendered imperative the question of a French port. M. Gautier foresees Abidjan as the harbour to be developed, with access to the French Sudan, served by a railway that will leave the forestal areas 'intacte et inaccessible.' Other chapters of the work deal with Nigeria and Dahomey.

The reproduction of the illustrations is not worthy of the text; there is no index; and the geological map is drawn upon lines so broad that it is useful only as an indication.

L. E. J.

**Uganda.** By H. B. Thomas, O.B.E., and Robert Scott. With an introduction by Sir Bernard Bourdillon, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., and a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard, P.C., G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O. Oxford University Press, 1935. xviii + 359 pp., pls. 48, 7 maps. Price 15s.

This book, written by two officials in the Uganda Protectorate service, though published under the authority of the Government of Uganda, and compiled from official records, is not an official publication. It replaces the *Handbook of Uganda* compiled by Mr. H. R. Wallis, C.M.G., C.B.E., the first edition of which appeared in 1913, and a second edition in 1920 brought the history of the country up to the end of the War. Sir Bernard Bourdillon points out in his Introduction that there was an obvious need for some comprehensive work of reference if one was to attempt to understand the remarkable development and changes in the life and activities in the Protectorate that had taken place in the years following the War and so he initiated this work which is now published.

The book has been well planned; whilst in some senses it may be considered a third edition of the *Handbook*, the authors have gone further. They have clothed the facts and given the reader a fascinating account of the various developments which have taken place in all branches of the Government Departments, as well as Missionary activities. The Historical Retrospect is particularly good, it is certainly the best account of the early happenings in Uganda which has been published. The scope of the book is to supply information to all classes of inquirers, business men, officials, tourists and students. Students of Anthropology will find a great deal to interest them in this book, for here one is able to visualize the tribe, or group of tribes, in which one is interested, in its physical background, and in its relation to its neighbours and their backgrounds. In a book of this size it is obvious that the authors must have had some difficulty in deciding what proportion of the available space they could afford to the many different subjects with which they are concerned. One must therefore congratulate them on the balance which they have achieved, even if one feels at times that a little expansion of the subject would have made the work more complete. However, there is an excellent bibliography, and the book accomplishes its objects, first, to instruct and interest the general public in all the activities of the Government in developing the material progress of the people as well as looking after their health and education, and secondly, the expert is told where he can find the detailed information for which he is in search. The illustrations are excellent, and the maps are quite the best one has ever seen in a work of this kind.

E. B. H.

**Sahara: The Great Desert.** By E. F. Gautier. Translation by D. F. Mayhew. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935. 264 pp., illustrations and end map. Price 18s. 6d.

Professor Gautier has made the Sahara his special territory. If one regrets a little, in this well-presented volume, the definite loss of the limpid French of Gautier's original volume ('Le Sahara,' published in Paris in 1928), and its exchange for English that is by no means always harmonious, there are certain compensations in the addition of 27 new illustrations and an excellent folding map.

Professor Gautier's work, performed for many years with the University of Algiers as its base, deals with geology, geography, and history; but it is much more than a dry scientific study; it forms a fascinating introduction to a region of magnificent spaces and exceptional attraction. But the great desert that formed a barrier to Roman conquest is no longer a region of mystery; 'it has ceased,' says the author, 'to be an obstacle, a bulkhead interposed between Europe and Black Africa.' The camel caravans that once trickled through the strange area, from oasis to oasis, without making any great difference to the life of the wild creatures or the denizens of the desert, have been, since the war, in some regions superseded by motor vehicles; while the use of aircraft and wireless has resulted from the fact that 'North Africa, in the last three-quarters of a century, has become European territory.'

There is a bibliography and excellent index; format and typography are of the first order.

L. E. J.

#### AMERICA

**Naskapi, The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula.** By Frank O. Speck. Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 1935. 248 pp., 26 text figures, 19 plates. Price \$3.50.

This excellent presentation of the religious beliefs and the ceremonial of the Montagnais-Naskapi fills a gap in

our knowledge of the American Indians. The southern and western Algonkians have been well known for a long time and the Eskimos of the northern coast tracts were recently studied by the Thule Expeditions. However, very little was known about the scattered groups of Algonkian-speaking hunters who live in the desolate



areas of the Labrador Peninsula. It is true that the Jesuits made many efforts to christianize the nomadic bands of the Montagnais-Naskapi. Their influence, however, remains very superficial. When the Natives come to the coast they occasionally attend the services of the Mission, but as soon as they return to the interior they resort again to their old rites of conjuring, divination, dream control, drumming and dancing, which are to them essentials of economic success. Consequently the Naskapi represent even now an Algonkian culture of an archaic type.

The Montagnais-Naskapi ideas of the supernatural seem to be rather vague. The background upon which most of them rest is the concept of *Manitu* (Manitu), a term which comprises the universe, natural law, the unknown, spirit forces, supreme power. The question whether the 'Governor' or 'Owner' is an aboriginal one or due to missionary teaching has, in the author's mind, to remain undecided, as no conclusive testimony on this point can be obtained from the present Naskapi. Several older sources, however, speak in favour of a native belief in a Supreme Being.

Most of the magico-religious rites of the Naskapi centre round the mystic relation of man to the animals of the forest and the tundra. On this relationship depends the life and well-being of the Indian. Hunting is, therefore, a holy occupation embedded in an elaborate system of magic ceremonial. Almost human qualities are attributed to animals. The caribou is believed to be highly intelligent and to have its own established social life. In hunting this animal the magical preparation by which it is compelled to submit to the weapons is considered indispensable. Moreover, the caribou stand under the control of a Theistic 'Owner,' the master of the caribou, without whose permission none of these animals is allowed to fall victim to the hunter. This reminds us of an almost identical belief to be found among many of the peoples of North and North-East Asia, where the overlord of the reindeer is one of the most frequent hypostases of the Supreme Being. Still more striking are the resemblances between the Naskapi and various Asiatic peoples in their beliefs concerning the bear. The Naskapi call this animal usually by circumlocutory names such as 'great food,' 'black food,' 'short tail,' or 'grandfather.' A sweat-lodge ceremony is the necessary magical preparation for a bear hunt, and after a bear has been killed a small amount of tobacco is put into his mouth. Only when this has been faithfully carried out the skinning and cutting up of the bear may begin. When the bear is brought in all the young unmarried women must cover their faces, so that they should not fall sick for having insulted him. One wonders whether that is the only explanation for this custom or whether the real underlying reason is the sexual element in the bear ceremonies which element is so evident in the bear worship of the Giljaks and the Altai Turks. From the Giljaks, K. F. Karjalainen ('Die Religion der Jugra-Völker,' Teil III. Helsinki, 1927, p. 14, 221 f.) reports, too, that the women must keep away from the bear and cover their faces with a cloth. In view of these almost identical customs it is difficult to doubt the original connection of the Naskapi bear feasts with similar practices of Siberian peoples. The important function of the bear feasts for the social life of the Naskapi is that they provide almost the only opportunity for a gathering together of the people within a certain area. The exposure of the bear's head, ceremonial dancing, eating, drinking and smoking are their most prominent features.

Equally detailed, as the description of the bear ceremonies is that of the methods of divination, which

is generally practised in the form of scapulimancy. An account of other various magical observances and some notes on medicinal practices and charms for hunting completes this highly meritorious book.

C. FÜRER-HAIMENDORF.

1. **Nez Percé Texts.** By Archie Phinney. New York : Columbia University Press, 1934. 497 pp. \$5.00.

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2. **Northwest Sahaptin Texts. Part 1.** By Melville Jacobs. New York : Columbia University Press, 1934. 291 pp. \$4.00.

3. **Catawba Texts.** By Frank G. Speck. New York : Columbia University Press, 1934. 91 pp. \$2.00.

1. This collection of mythological texts, obtained from a sixty-year-old woman of the Nez Percé Indians, forms vol. XXV of Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology. Funds for the work were provided by the Committee on Research in Native American Languages. Forty-one folktales are recorded, and, although Mr. Phinney admits that these do not comprise the whole of the legendary stories known to the Nez Percé group, the series presented in the volume is of primary significance. Here we find light upon the Indians' poetic ideas of an ancient world, when, before the arrival of human beings, there existed a kingdom of birds, fish and animals, of which the coyote was the overlord. This kingdom disappeared when man became dominant and the creatures assumed their present form and status; but many tales of the true American natives are reminiscent of this dream-state. Apparently, the original inhabitant of America had no definite idea of a gulf separating him from the animal world. Similarly, certain American tribes do not distinguish between dreams and actual happenings.

2. The texts of these folktales were obtained by Mr. Jacobs between the years 1926 and 1930. 'Very little' of the atmosphere of story-telling can be provided on 'a printed page,' says the editor, adding that long stories 'would be told on two or more successive 'nights,' the myth being 'tied up,' like a canoe, until the next evening's myth-journey. The tales of the North-west Sahaptin region (in the State of Washington), as in other instances, exalt the coyote (wolf), who plays the predominant part in many stories. But, as in the volume of Nez Percé texts, it is in an animal world that the coyote rules, although when we find bear and cougar disputing about the division of day and night it is the frog whose reasoning prevails, so that from that time 'there is only one day and only one darkness.'

More than seventy texts are contained in this volume, an Indian ('Joe Hunt') contributing thirty-six, while four others, of whom one was a woman, told the remainder. A marked difference in style is shown, but throughout, although the stories of at least one relator appear puerile, the world of men and of creatures mingles: their pleasures and sufferings are similar. The value and meaning of the stories must be regarded in the light of similar native American collections.

3. The Catawba folk, formerly living in North and South Carolina, were an *enclave*, differing in speech from the surrounding tribes, but related to the far distant Sioux. Of these interesting people, says Mr. Speck, only about one hundred remain; and few of these now know more than a word or two of their ancient speech. 'The language is gone,' says the editor. This rescue, at the last possible moment, of the present small volume of tales is of special interest since, side by side with the idea so frequently repeated in American folklore of the personification of animals, we obtain echoes of tribal wars with Shawnee and Chickasaw Indians, glimpses of wild dwarfs of the woods, of witches, medicine men



and cures, of ghosts that dance and sing on the sites of old Indian villages, and of such past delights of the free native folk as the bear and wild goose ceremonies, and the hunting and trapping of game.

The three volumes referred to above form part of a series of Contributions to Anthropology published by Columbia University since the year 1913; to date, twenty-four publications have been made available, the greater number dealing with North Americans.

L. E. J.

**The Eskimos.** 1936. By Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith. Translated from the Danish by W. E. Calvert, translation revised by Prof. C. Daryll Forde. Pp. 250, pls. 32. London: Methuen. Price 15s.

As Diamond Jenness says in a foreword, the author of this book carried on the high tradition of his predecessors both as explorer and scientist. Like many others, he found the Eskimos a fascinating people to know and to study. With Rasmussen the author dog-sledged across the Arctic in the Thule expedition of 1921, and spent two years living the Eskimo life, and accumulating a knowledge of many tribes, especially the little-known inland Caribou Eskimos west of Hudson Bay. Birket-Smith, like many of his countrymen, occupies a front place among contributors to a knowledge of Eskimo culture, and this book is an epitome of that knowledge, based not only on his own experience, but upon a scholarly understanding of the anthropological problems involved in the study of all the Polar peoples. In his discussion of these problems he does not forget the Siberian races nor even the Lapps.

It is recognized that the culture elements which enabled the Eskimo to survive in the Arctic and which at the same time attached him to the Arctic coast were the methods of seal hunting on the ice, the snow house and the blubber lamp. These not only made him independent of the forest, but gave him a measure of comfort in the most severe of all climates. With these he spread across Arctic America from Alaska to Greenland and Labrador, reaching Greenland probably before 983 A.D., when Norsemen first visited that country. The later Norse settlements appear to have been destroyed about the middle of the fourteenth century, but intermingling between Europeans and Eskimos, which had probably taken place, may account for the blood groups of the modern Greenlanders.

As recognized by Rink, the Eskimo culture reached its peak in sub-Arctic Alaska and Greenland, being kept in check by the more severe conditions in the central coastal regions between, and he believed Alaska to be the native home of Eskimo culture. The present author distinguishes three degrees of culture: (1) the sub-Arctic of southern Greenland and Alaska, (2) the Arctic, and (3) the high Arctic of northern Greenland and adjacent areas. Complications have been introduced into the earlier simple conception of a west to east spread, by two discoveries of recent years. The Caribou Eskimos, which the author studied, an inland people west of Hudson Bay, have no present connection with the sea except that certain tribes go down to hunt seals in the spring. Various writers regard these Eskimos as primitive, ancestral to those which have taken up an ice culture by spreading first northwards to the Arctic coast and thence east and west. Birket-Smith also lays emphasis on a 'very considerable similarity' between typical Eskimos and the Chipewyan Indians around Lake Athabaska. He regards these Indians as a survival of a former Eskimo race in this region.

In his chapter on the 'Origin and Development of the Eskimo culture' the author discusses these and many other problems connected with Eskimo origins,

not forgetting the Aleuts (whom he regards as allied to the Eskimo), the Thule culture, the Siberian tribes and the post-glacial movements of Upper Palaeolithic man. We need not follow him further, for every anthropologist will want to read this book. We will only remark that in his final chapter on Eskimos and Whites the author shows his strong feeling for the future welfare of the Eskimos and discusses the quite different problems connected with their rule by Denmark, Canada and the United States.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

**The Crow Indians.** By Robert H. Lowie. New York: Farrar & Rinehart. Pp. 350 x xii, 30 illus. 1935. \$4.00.

This is an account intended for the general public, of the tribe of Northern Plains Indians whom Dr. Lowie has studied for so many years, and different aspects of whose culture he has described in various technical papers published from time to time by the American Museum of Natural History. In this book Dr. Lowie sketches in clear outline the tribal organization, the games and occupations, the ritual practices and warfare of this interesting and distinctive culture. He gives a detailed chapter to the elucidation of the elaborate kinship terms; and details four of the most important Crow myths and the exact procedure of the Tobacco Society, the Sun Dance, and several other ritual dances. He does not enter into any technological details about, for instance, hunting, food, arts and crafts; nor does he give any native texts literally translated, as he has in previous monographs. Neither does he formulate any general theories or put forward any functional or psychological explanation of the part played by the cult of the sought vision, the desire to die in battle, or the other traditions that lie at the root of Crow belief. He contents himself for the most part with graphic description of actual facts, though he comments more than once on the difference between the native ideal of early death, round which ideal most of the religious and social practices centre, and the discretion practised by the actual 'braves.' Dr. Lowie has lived for months at a time among the Indians, and he describes his methods of work and his knowledge of the language. The book is well documented with glossary, index, and bibliography; but it is not made quite clear how far the translated words and texts are literal equivalents in their curious mixture of slang and metaphor; nor how much such words as 'shaman,' 'coup,' 'pemmican,' are actually used by the natives themselves or their interpreters.

A. B. V. DREW.

**Wintu Ethnography.** By Cora Du Bois. University of California Press (Cambridge University Press). 1935. ix + 148 pp., 3 plates, 11 figs., and map. Price 7s. 6d.

This is a monograph on an Indian tribe of Northern California, written by a field-worker from the Department of Anthropology of Berkeley University. The writer is well versed in scientific method; all the material is neatly tabulated and arranged in small divisions under headings such as Ethnogeography, Kinship, Division of Labour, Time Reckoning, etc., and a phonetic system of spelling is employed for native words. The texts on shamanism are extremely interesting and detailed; and so are the descriptions of the seances at which the ethnographer assisted. The information on customs and ceremonies seems carefully checked and authentic; but the chief defect of the monograph is lack of balance and proportion in general arrangement. No broad survey of the culture is given; nor is there any satisfactory comparison with other tribes, except in a brief 'Conclusion,' where one or



two other Californian regions are indicated. It is only by gradual inference we gather that the Wintu were a loosely integrated tribe, organized not at all strictly under hereditary chieftains, dwelling in villages by rivers during the winter, and in the summer moving about in temporary camps. Their chief activities were deer-hunting and fishing; they had a highly-developed shamanistic cult; and among other technical accomplishments made baskets of considerable beauty. Miss Du Bois supplies a great deal of useful and careful information, but scattered as it is under small sub-headings and never integrated into a vivid or comprehensive picture, one is forcibly reminded of the proverb of the wood and the trees.

A. B. V. DREW.

**Antiquities of the New England Indians.** By Charles C. Willoughby. *Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts*, 1935. 314 pp.

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The name of Mr. Willoughby is a guarantee of sound work, and Americanists will find this volume a valuable guide to a subject formerly neglected in favour of work yielding more spectacular results. But the archaeology of New England is a milestone along the path of study of American origins, and however simple are the artifacts recovered from the excavation of

graves—often the chief, if not the sole, witnesses concerning the lives of the ancient inhabitants of the region—their evidence is inexpugnable. From thousands of stone implements turned up by the plough and from patient and expert examination of burial places and village sites, a few facts have come to light. Mr. Willoughby is able to say that the first inhabitants of New England were a northern-born folk who were unacquainted with agriculture, made no pottery and did not know the axe. The agriculturists of the North-east of the United States entered later from the west.

Precise chronology is, of course, impossible, but Mr. Willoughby is certain that no evidence exists of a paleolithic people in New England. The nearest approach to any cautious dating occurred when the 'outstanding' discovery was made of the stakes of a prehistoric fish-weir, more than thirty feet below the surface, in Boston's 'Back Bay' in the year 1913. Engineers, archaeologists and geologists put their heads together, and as a result decided that the fish-weir was made between 2,000 and 3,000 years ago.

The volume is profusely and excellently illustrated. There are many good sketch-maps and an adequate index. The letter-press is a model of its kind. L. E. J.

#### ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Bronzezeit und Frühe Eisenzeit in Italien: Pfahlbau, Terramare, Villanova.** By Franz Messerschmidt. *Berlin: De Gruyter*, 1934. 77 pp., pls. 16.

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"The time of the lake-dwellings, the terramare and Villanovan culture is the period of early Italian history when the nations were formed. Struggling with the older population the Italic culture of later historic times originates." That is the thesis the author puts at the beginning of his book. He then starts with a short history of the research work done in Italian pre-history, mentioning Pigorini, Helbig, von Duhn, and Orsi as its founders, and Rellini and MacIver among the younger generation. He then passes to the lake-dwellings "as the history of the Indo-Germanic immigration into Italy which, in the opinion of most scholars, begins with the immigration of the lake-dwellers into Italy." The author states that the theories about the origin of the lake-dwellings: whether immigration of a new population, introduction of culture, or autochthonous, are strictly opposed to each other; that nobody knows nowadays where the type of the lake-dwellings originated, or of what race their inhabitants may have been, or what religion they may have had. He quotes von Duhn and Pigorini's hypothesis about one or two immigrations of the lake-dwellers, and comes to the conclusion that the lake-dwellings were introduced as a finished construction into Italy, as there is no connection with the dwelling-places of the older population of the Remedello type. The question whether the newcomers brought with them a higher developed culture cannot be answered as yet.

There are three questions, we are told, which wait for an answer, concerning the connection of the lake-dwellers with the following period of the terramare: first, whether there is a possibility of the transformation of the lake-dwelling into the terramare construction; second, whether the lake-dwelling type spread into the south of the peninsula as a foundation of a uniform population till Roman times; and thirdly, what was the reason of this generally suggested migration to the south? Fortunately we do not wait too long for the answers, as the author states at once that the reason of the supposed southward migration is given by Leopold, and is due to the change in the climate for the worse. Then the answer to questions one and two is given together

and is in the negative. Why the lake-dwellers must have a reason to migrate to the south, if they did not do so at all, is not explained.

Likewise the author fails to explain why he devotes his longest chapter to the terramare, though he says already in this chapter that we do not know whether the classical 'plan of a terramare' (as expounded by Pigorini and his school) ever existed, as none was really excavated. They may as well have been such *Packbauten* as are known from the Federsee. They are contemporary (he says) with most of the lake-dwellings, and anthropology, too, cannot give us an explanation whether their population was different, as they burnt their dead. The culture of the lake-dwellers and the so-called terramare people is rather primitive and not so developed as that of the 'extraterramaricoli.' From this the author concludes that all the theories concerned with the immigration of the 'Italici' into Italy, and the reasons for them, must be revised from the point of view that the Indo-Germanic immigration often did not bring new things for the Appennine Peninsula. Now who were these Indo-Germanic 'Italici,' after all that the author has explained? It seems that in spite of his own thesis he sticks faithfully to the old idea that the lake-dwellers and the supposed terramare people must be identified with these Indo-Germanic 'Italici.'

After telling us once more that the mere existence of the terramare is by no means proved, and that, wherever researches have been made, it has shown to be mistaken, the author concludes that we have not got material enough to fight the terramare theory and to doubt Pigorini's assertions. This seems a strange method of research, to take a hypothesis for granted—and the whole book is founded on it—only because it is so unsupported by facts that we have not even the possibility to contradict it.

It would take too much space to denounce all the contradictions in this chapter and in the next dealing with the 'extraterramaricoli,' and would be of little use, as nothing except the well-known theories, including Rellini's new ones, is given, neither of which the author acknowledges nor denies. What we know about the Bronze Age in South Italy is not mentioned at all; though Sicily, thanks to Orsi, is the best known archaeological province of Italy.



The larger part of the book is devoted to the Iron Age, and here the author is nearer to the special field of his own studies and therefore the outlines of the current theories he repeats are clearer, especially in the part dealing with the Etruscans, though here also one wonders at the strange inaccuracy of his thoughts and expressions.

The last chapter of the book deals with what the author calls the results and the views for the future. He enumerates the problems that are to be solved and the work to be done by every scholar now working in the field of Italian archaeology in a manner which makes one wish that the author himself had cared for his own maxims. His request for a book about the Etruscans containing only the acknowledged facts of history, archaeology, and linguistics, and no hypothesis, is what is to be desired in Italian prehistory as a whole, for there is hardly any other part of scientific research where the current hypotheses are less founded on established facts.

It is difficult to see the reason for writing an essay like this and calling it 'Bronzezeit und frühe Eisenzeit in Italien.' The archaeological material is hardly mentioned, and the plates are not good at all. The reproductions, mostly taken from well-known books, are on much too small a scale, so that they give no impression of the objects. The thesis mentioned in the beginning of the book is not worked out.

ELISE BAUMGÄRTEL.

**The Cave of Altamira at Santillana del Mar, Spain.** By Abbé Henri Breuil and Dr. Hugo Obermaier, with a Foreword by the Duke of Berwick and Alba. English text by Mary E. Boyle. Madrid, 1935. vii + 223 pp., 52 plates.

The original publication on the cave paintings found at Altamira in Northern Spain appeared in 1906 and has long been out of print; it was therefore high time for a completely new edition to be produced. Altamira is of special interest to prehistorians because it was there that the wonderful palaeolithic art was first, by accident, discovered. This was as long ago as 1879; but although many other cave 'temples' have subsequently been discovered the ceiling of Altamira has never been surpassed in beauty or in scientific interest. It was not realized then how much more information regarding Upper Palaeolithic art would turn up, and the original volume was meant to be a more or less definitive exposition of cave paintings and engravings. Chapters on other sites discovered subsequent to 1879 were included and comparisons with the art of modern primitive people were made. Much of that comparative work now is out of date and hence the new volume is in no sense a reprint; it is something fresh and indispensable to all prehistorians. Unfortunately the cost necessarily has to be high, a multitude of plates in many colours cannot be reproduced at a low figure. Most prehistorians will have to depend on library copies but they should insist that the larger libraries attached to various scientific institutions should obtain the volume.

The Upper Palaeolithic cave art is not all of one age nor does it all belong to a single culture. More than one art cycle can be detected and a sequence of styles determined; this applies both in the case of the paintings and of the engravings. A relative chronology can be determined by studying the various palimpsests, i.e., superposition of drawings, that occur in the caves. Such palimpsests occur at Altamira, and a careful comparative study of the various styles in their chronological sequence has been made. Furthermore, a number of tables giving the final results of similar studies in several other important caves have also been included. The volume therefore contains much important scientific matter concerning other places besides Altamira, and sets forth the latest

views of Professors Breuil and Obermaier on the development of palaeolithic art. Of recent years Dr. Obermaier has undertaken scientific excavations in the hearths in the cave vestibule. The results of these excavations also appear in this volume. As regards the plates, certain corrections have been made. In 1906 Professor Breuil had had less experience in the copying of palaeolithic drawings, and while little serious error had crept in, in the present edition corrections where necessary have been made. Again the colours have been most carefully matched with the originals with the result that the reproductions are as accurate as it is possible for them to be.

The work starts with an account of the various investigations of the cave with a history of its discovery. There follows a detailed description of the drawings found. Following on this there are chapters on the chronology of the paintings and engravings in the Spanish and French caves. In this connection it is interesting to note the occurrence of bichrome figures of late Aurignacian date. Up to a short time ago paintings in more than one colour were always assigned to a Magdalenian date; but finds at Serenc of a painted bichrome figure within Aurignacian levels and associated with a typical Aurignacian industry has enabled correction to be made in this respect. In this account of drawings from other sites some hitherto unpublished examples are given. There follows a general outline of the evolution of cave art as a whole. Possibly this part might have been a little enlarged. If a general 'Ausblick' is given at all it might with advantage have been rather more complete. Then comes an account of Dr. Obermaier's excavations; and, finally, the long series of superb plates and photographs. Rather more reference to these plates in the various tables giving the sequence of styles might have been useful. This is a small point but it would perhaps have helped the reader to visualize at once what any particular style is like. By the way figure 77, on page 96, is surely upside down? The translation from the French has been made by Miss Boyle and is perfectly satisfactory.

One conclusion follows from a perusal of this volume. There is no doubt that prehistorians in the past have been somewhat blinded by the wonder of the Magdalenian polychromes so that the importance of the Aurignacian art has not been sufficiently realized. There is no doubt that the old phase system will have to be recast and phase I into which the Aurignacian styles have hitherto been grouped will have to be subdivided and given a far greater importance in the scheme.

As has been said, the volume is superb and indispensable, and our congratulations are due to Professors Breuil and Obermaier for the bringing to completion of this magnificent work and to the various institutions which have enabled it to be published in such a de luxe manner.

M. C. BURKITT.

**Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos.** By Winifred Lamb. Cambridge University Press. Svo. xii + 226 pp., 50 plates, 61 illustrations in text and 7 plans. Price £2 12s. 6d.

The little prehistoric settlement at Thermi deserves the sumptuous volume devoted to its description. For the sequence of ceramic types and relics of stone, bone and metal, determined with such accuracy by Miss Lamb, supplies the missing stratigraphy of Troy in part—in part, because the types characteristic of the later phase of Troy II (two-handled mugs and long necked jugs for instance), are conspicuously lacking. A series of five superimposed 'Early Bronze Age' townships was recovered and planned. At a higher level some very



fragmentary later structures yielded grey and red wares divisible into two stratigraphical phases the last of which was contemporary with Late Minoan IIIa in Greece. The pottery from the Early Aegean levels seems strictly parallel to Troy I—Yortan—Troy IIa, with red as well as black wares in the earliest phase, A (towns I-II). The pottery and all other objects found are catalogued with levels and associations, described and illustrated both with photographs and line-drawings. It is particularly gratifying to see sections given of stone, bone and metal implements, which are generally neglected by Aegean prehistorians (the flanges on the metal celt 30-34a are not, however, visible in the section on pl. XLVII though perfectly obvious in the photograph on pl. XXV). The analyses of the metal objects discussed in an appendix by Prof. Desch further enhance the value of the book. A few points deserve especial mention.

Crucibles for melting copper were found in town I, a pin containing 13 per cent. of tin on virgin soil below this settlement, a bracelet of pure tin (misdescribed as iron in a preliminary report) in town IV, and a flanged axe and slotted spear-head also in IV. Indeed Thermi was throughout a fully Bronze Age settlement; nowhere north of the Balkans would an excavator expect to find anything like so much metal in a domestic site anterior to the Late Bronze Age at least. The flint work was correspondingly poor, but there is a perfectly typical lunate, 3 cm. long, from town IVa. Ground stone axe-heads occur at all levels, battle-axes already in town I while those from II are fully developed with cylindrical

butts and a swelling round the shaft-hole. The absence of hard-stone beads and locally made stone vases serves to emphasize the contrast between the essentially Anatolian culture of Lesbos and those of Mesopotamia, Egypt and their dependencies.

As to chronology the latest, Mycenaean, occupation of the site must have ended before 1200 B.C. since wares of the Granary Class are missing among the imports from Hellas. The Early Aegean settlement for its part ended before the later phase of Troy II which Miss Lamb thinks must begin at latest by 2350 B.C. This is not perhaps an irreducible date, but the author shows by reference to Alishar and the latest excavations at Troy that it is at least much nearer the truth than the low date advocated by Aberg. And so reckoning back from this figure, Miss Lamb reaches a date at the end of the IVth millennium for the foundation of Thermi I which was already a Bronze Age village. Any discussion of Central European chronology must take account of this fact. It is therefore perhaps a pity to apply to Lesbos terms like Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age which are used in a rather different sense by the prehistorians of Central Europe. It is conceivable that the Early Bronze Age of Central Europe was parallel to that of Lesbos, but beyond the Balkans the Late Bronze Age is always taken as beginning precisely where Miss Lamb's 'Late Bronze Age' ends. To avoid any suggestion of unproved parallelism it would be safer to use the term Early, Middle and Late Aegean.

V. G. C.

#### SOCIOLOGY

**The Assyrian Laws.** Edited with translation and commentary by G. R. Driver and Sir John C. Miles. Oxford University Press. xxiv + 534 pp. Price 35s. net.

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The partnership between an eminent orientalist and a distinguished lawyer has produced a book which is a significant contribution to learning and an achievement of which English scholarship may be justly proud. In the words of the authors, the object of the book is, on the one hand, to provide a text and translation of the Assyrian laws with philological notes and glossaries for the use of Assyriologists and, on the other hand, to enable students of the Old Testament and of comparative law to make use of the information which may be extracted from them. Every student of the various fields represented by this book will welcome the announcement of the authors that, if it is well received, they hope to proceed to the study of the Code of Hammurabi and of the other fragments of Babylonian law and of the Hebrew laws embedded in the Pentateuch.

The plan of the book is well conceived and enhances its value to students. The first and major part of the book consists of a very complete legal commentary on the laws, arranged under the heads of Crimes, Rights and Duties of Women, Pledge for Debt, Control of Corporal Punishment, and Procedure and Punishment. Then follows the text of the Old and Middle Assyrian Laws in transliteration and translation, with 60 pages of very valuable philological notes and glossaries of Sumerian and Assyrian words. There is an adequate index.

It would require a review of inordinate length and a reviewer of encyclopaedic knowledge to do justice to all the fields of study to which this book makes an original contribution. It need hardly be said that Mr. Driver, born in the purple, as it were, and already in his own right an authority in the field of Semitic Philology, is responsible for the text, translation and philological notes, as well as for all matters in the legal commentary which require a knowledge of the wide field of Oriental

law and custom in ancient times. Those who have followed Mr. Driver's contributions to Oriental learning hitherto will not be surprised to find that his share in this book is marked by the accuracy, soundness and fulness of knowledge which characterized his father's work before him.

The present reviewer is not competent to assess the value of the important share of the work in this book which belongs to Sir John Miles, but even a layman cannot fail to be impressed by the acuteness and subtlety of the analysis of the many fine points of law which arise, and by the wide knowledge of the field of legal history displayed in the many interesting and apposite parallels cited from Greek, Roman, and other sources. This book makes it abundantly clear that, as in religion, art, and material culture, so also in the domain of law, the debt of Western civilization to the ancient East is at last beginning to be realized.

The body of law which forms the subject of this book is somewhat limited in range and of a peculiar character. For the sake of completeness, the Old Assyrian laws are included in the volume, but they are too fragmentary to provide us with much information. This is the more to be regretted since the fragments here published give glimpses of a highly organized state of society. It is strange, in a remote Assyrian outpost, and in the middle of the third millennium before Christ, to hear of burghers, clerks of assembly, banks, the corporation of free merchants and so forth. No doubt the progress of excavation and research in the Near East will soon add to our knowledge of this earlier stage of Assyrian civilization.

The main body of the book is occupied with a collection of laws which the authors have distinguished by the new name of Middle Assyrian Laws. For reasons given in the Introduction these laws are assigned to the period lying between 1450 and 1250 B.C., hence they are practically contemporary with the Tell el-Amarna period. They do not constitute a code, or part of a code, although they have been drafted in the same conditional form as



the old Sumerian laws and the Babylonian code which in this respect followed that model (p. 12). In fact, their nature and purpose constitute a problem. The authors suggest that these laws do not represent a deliberate attempt to apply the Babylonian code to Assyria, but are rather a series of Assyrian rules relating to certain subjects where the laws of the two countries differed most widely and that they are applicable in cases where the provisions of the Babylonian code are repugnant or inadequate to Assyrian needs and customs.

The longest collection is contained in Tablet A and consists entirely of laws relating to offences committed by or against women. The other main collection, in Tablet B, deals with matters relating to land, and contains much material of importance to the sociologist.

The first collection will be of special interest to the anthropologist. It throws much fresh light on the social status of women in the Near East in the second millennium a.c., and raises new problems. There is a valuable discussion (pp. 134 ff.) on the question of whether Assyrian law recognized two types of marriage existing side by side, a stricter and a looser kind, a question in which the problem of the survival of matriarchal institutions is involved. The economic aspects of marriage, and the significance of the various technical terms relating to the exchange of presents and gifts connected with marriage and betrothal, are also carefully discussed. We find also the curious custom of marriage by veiling (p. 186) described and discussed.

Other important questions dealt with in this tablet are the levirate, divorce, and the position before the law of widows and of women deserted by their husbands.

Of special anthropological interest is the discussion of the ordeal (pp. 86 ff.). The principal form of ordeal practised in Assyria, as in Babylonia, was the river ordeal, and one of the interesting questions which is raised by a certain ambiguity in the language of the laws relating to the ordeal is whether the innocent party in the ordeal sank or floated. The judgment of the authors inclines to the former alternative, which is in accordance with the general view prevailing in the Semitic world. To Semitists the discussion of the technical term *hursan* and its ritual implications will be of special interest.

The general reader will be struck by the strange mixture of cruelty and humanity which characterizes the penal legislation of Assyria at this epoch. Repulsive mutilations and disfigurements abound, and apparently are commoner here than in Babylonia (p. 343), while the death penalty is less common. The penalty for theft is milder than under the old English law. In many cases the plaintiff has the option of condoning the offence, introducing the principle of compensation, although the possibility of blackmail is guarded against. An important point, with regard to which there may be some divergence of opinion, is raised on p. 346; there the authors infer that the Assyrian theory of punishment has not a religious origin and that there is no idea of divine vengeance or retribution. They consider that the fundamental Assyrian principle is talion, and on p. 350 they endeavour to estimate the historical evolution of punishment in Assyria from the purely individual point of view to that of the State.

Enough has been said to indicate the importance of this book for students of anthropology and sociology, as well as for the Orientalist and the student of comparative law. It is also of great value for the student of the Old Testament, and it may be suggested that the value of the book would be enhanced by the addition of an index of the many Old Testament passages illustrated from the Assyrian laws. There are extraordinary few misprints. For future editions it may be noted that the title of Ebeling's book as given on p. xiv should be

*Tod und Leben usw.*, and the abbreviation corrected accordingly. Also on p. x the abbreviation B.K.M.R. should be B.K.B.R. S. H. HOOKE.

### The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization.

By Edward Westermarck. London, Macmillan, 1936. xiv + 281 pp. Price 12s. 6d.

To turn to this genuinely scientific work from the many febrile discussions of marriage and its problems which one meets to-day is like leaving an over-crowded, over-heated drawing-room filled with chattering pseudo-intellectuals for the company of an intelligent man in the fresh air. Dr. Westermarck is one of the very few who are entitled to attempt a forecast in so debatable a region of sociology, for he is one of those who have really studied the matter, and therefore, be he right or wrong, is led to his conclusions by knowledge and reason, not prejudice and sentiment. Indeed, if the book has a fault not merely of detail, it is that it allows somewhat too little for the irrationalities of human kind, whether married or not.

He begins with a chapter setting forth 'the meaning and origin of marriage,' in which he somewhat modifies his own famous definition by an added clause insisting on the necessity of the 'more or less permanent union' being one 'recognized by custom or law.' Now follows one of the most debatable chapters, *The essential elements in marriage*. He is strongly of opinion (p. 21) that the primary object of marriage is sexual union "as sexual desire is obviously the primary motive of relations between the sexes among animals." Considering the numerous extra-marital ways of gratifying sexual desire which are to be found in most communities, and not least in those of lower grades of culture, the reviewer is inclined to doubt this and to think that, from the time man was developed enough to provide his actions with any conscious and reasoned motive at all, his object in marrying and encouraging some form of marriage among his fellows, in other words of keeping up the ancient habit of pairing and regarding it as a right thing, was to provide a recognizable link between the community and the children born to it. This could be so whether or not man had then any inkling of the fact that every child has a father as well as a mother. There is, however, no criticism to be made against the other elements, especially the economic, whose presence the author recognizes. The next three chapters discuss the causes of unhappiness in marriage, namely sexual maladjustment, adultery and jealousy and 'other causes,' including the famous incompatibility of temperament of which American courts have so much to say. Incidentally, he reviews the history of birth-control, quite rightly pointing out that it has come to stay and that neither legal nor ecclesiastical opposition is having the least effect.

So far the book has been chiefly historical; the next chapters (VI, VII, VIII) look somewhat more to the future, for they treat of the various proposed substitutes for the normal European form of marriage, temporary unions of various kinds, free love and the like, and then of the popular statement of many feebly clever writers that marriage is a dying institution. Dr. Westermarck has little difficulty in crushing these flimsy generalizations under a weight of facts. His conclusion is that they are one and all unsound, and that marriage, and its concomitant the family, are the one basis of society hitherto discovered and accordant with the existing emotions of both sexes.

This of course does not mean that monogamy is the only possible system, and Chapter IX discusses the claims of some form of polygamy. The problem is simple; there never has been, and it is highly unlikely



there ever will be, any such institution among the majority of any society. To put it crudely, there are neither enough women nor enough wealth to keep them, under polygyny, while polyandry is not a system for which there is likely to be much demand from either sex. Thus marriage, if it is to subsist, will be chiefly monogamous. Dr. Westermarck is of opinion, however, that advancing civilization will adopt more rational and fairly simple and easy forms of divorce, and also a more tolerant attitude towards extra-marital relations and the not uncommon abnormalities, bisexuality and homosexual desires. But that marriage and the family will disappear is likely only if 'conjugal and parental' sentiments 'vanish, a contingency too remote to be worth much thought' (see p. 265).

Some matters of detail would be the better for revision. On p. 5 and elsewhere the ugly ghost-word 'helpmate' disfigures the author's usually excellent English. The equally hideous use of 'urge' as a noun stains p. 32. On p. 245, line 15, the first word should be 'which,' not 'who.' Some loose references fit ill with the careful accuracy of the book as a whole. Thus, on p. 67, note 3, a reference to pseudo-Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, is given by the page of some unmentioned edition, certainly neither the Berlin text nor the Latin version of Camerarius; the reviewer has not been able to find it. On p. 141, note 7, a remark of Lysias is cited at second hand; it is probably *orat.*, i, 33, which does not say what it is here made to say. On p. 246, the rather bulky works of Tertullian and St. Basil (which?) are referred to with no references at all. On p. 195, note 7, the reference (to Caesar, *B.G.*, vi, 19, 3) is accurate, but an impossible interpretation is put upon it in the text. And on p. 81, the words "Socrates owed his deep obligations to the 'instructions of a courtesan named Diotima'" are totally misleading; the historical Sokrates may or may not have known any such person, while Plato, in the *Symposium* (201 D), makes him describe her as a prophetess or priestess of some kind, who gave him

instruction in love, it is true, but not the earthly passion.  
H. J. ROSE.

**Pareto.** By Dr. Franz Borkenau. London, 1936. Price 6s.

**172** Pareto's theories are pretentious. Behind a great show of impartiality and scientific method we discover plagiarist, popularizer, polemicist, and metaphysician. His writings are always witty and his criticisms of philosophers are often sound, though seldom original. It cannot be said that he has contributed much to sociology. Indeed, he seems to have been little acquainted with its aims and methods and, like many Italian scholars, to have been a quarter of a century behind students in England, France, and Germany.

Though neglected in other countries he is applauded in Italy as the ideologist of Fascism. Bousquet has kept his memory just alive in France. In America there seems to be a Pareto cult, if one can judge from a number of recent publications by people who show themselves very ignorant of history and sociology. Sorokin, who is certainly not ignorant of the methodology of these disciplines, is more critical of Pareto's treatise, though, on the whole, favourable to it. In this case author and critic wear the same political spectacles.

At last we have a sound critical study which puts Pareto in his right place among sociologists—or rather removes him altogether from their ranks. Dr. Borkenau gives a fair presentation of his theories, subjects them to devastating criticism, and concludes that their scientific value is nil. In the opinion of the reviewer, Dr. Borkenau is justified in his conclusion. However, let it be said in Pareto's favour that his treatise is so bad that it exposes, and thereby enables us to perceive more clearly, fallacies hidden with greater skill by other metaphysicians masquerading as scientists. A student may therefore learn more from it than from better treatises, especially if he reads Dr. Borkenau's book afterwards.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

## PSYCHOLOGY.

### Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies.

By Margaret Mead. London: Routledge, 1935. Price 10s. 6d.

**173** Dr. Margaret Mead is acknowledged to be one of the ablest workers in social anthropology to-day. This, her latest contribution, will undoubtedly enhance her reputation among those who believe in her methods; others may be more sceptical. The present reviewer must confess himself, at the outset, to be one of her sceptical admirers.

Dr. Mead has a vivid journalistic talent which engages the reader's interest from the very first page. She moves at a gallop which carries us—breathlessly at times—over several slippery patches. A patient examination of her argument is therefore the more essential.

The book embodies a thesis and a demonstration, the former derived from Dr. Ruth Benedict's conception of a 'pattern of culture,' the latter an account of observations made in three small New Guinea tribes. The thesis touches one of the fundamental problems of social anthropology; why are 'cultures' different, one from another. The solution offered is a psychological one—not, as one might be inclined to expect, an historical one. But Dr. Mead's psychological premises are distinctly unusual, to say the least. She (following Dr. Benedict) assumes an 'arc of human potentialities,' or a range of temperament the 'basis' of which is genetically determined. We never learn on whose authority—other than her own—this assumption is

made. Psychologists who are familiar with the colossal difficulties which have beset the labours of Kretschmer, Freud, Klages, Spearman, William James, etc., etc., to define the first principles for what temperament stands for, will be staggered by this equivocal, undefined concept. Are aggressiveness and passivity two 'qualities' located on opposite sides of the mean in the 'arc' of 'temperament,' or are they opposite functions of a single quality? What is the relation between these 'qualities' in the 'arc'? Such questions are, apparently, too trivial to require an answer, in this book.

Dr. Mead assures us that there is a 'general belief of 'our society' (American or Western European?) in innate temperamental differences between the sexes which she shared before she undertook this research. One would have thought that most social scientists under 50 reject this vulgar error. It is a desperate situation, indeed, if social anthropologists will derive their psychological hypotheses not from scientific psychology but from popular prejudice. How many American psychologists, we wonder, would lend their authority to Dr. Mead's assumption?

The crux of the theory, however, is the relationship postulated between 'temperament' and 'culture' (used interchangeably with 'society'). Every 'culture,' it is assumed, selects or emphasizes a restricted range of temperamental qualities, a part of the arc, and not the whole of it. The personality type approved in



any particular society is then perpetuated by the educational techniques prevalent in it. That explains the arbitrary definition of the 'temperaments' of the sexes imposed by any particular culture. Thus the vicious circle is completed; for the observed differences between cultures is the evidence for this process of cultural selection of 'temperaments' which in turn is triumphantly used to explain these differences. As to how culture thus hypostatized (shades of Durkheim!) carries out this process of selection—this, presumably needs no explanation.

It should be noted, incidentally, that the temperamental solution of Dr. Mead's problem has already been suggested, though in a somewhat different form, by Professor C. G. Seligman.

If Dr. Mead's theory is unacceptable to the present reviewer, her ethnography has gained his admiration. Her impressionistic method gives one a very effective and vivid picture of each of the three cultures she describes. In social anthropology, unfortunately, no perfect method of documentation has yet been invented; we have to take a great deal on trust. If this trust is sometimes strained in reading Dr. Mead's graphic synopses, it does not reach the breaking point.

To what extent Dr. Mead gives an 'objective' account of her three cultures is another problem. One sometimes feels that, having seized by intuition or inspiration upon the fundamental 'ethos' of each of her cultures she writes to justify her inspiration, not to describe the culture. The most complete of the three studies is that of the Arapesh, whose culture, she continually insists, is based on kindness, gentleness and trust. Why, then, we may ask, the obsessive fear of sorcery to which she frequently refers?

Again, owing to her fundamentally unsociological method of exposition, Dr. Mead sometimes indulges in psychological generalizations which smack of the potted Textbook of Abnormal Psychology for Social Workers—as when she assumes (p. 62) that the social approval accorded to lip-play prevents masturbation.

Dr. Mead's book may not be an 'intellectual bomb' (see dust cover); it is certainly not a mere squib. The problems it raises are real ones, and she is to be congratulated on her attempt to grapple with them.

M. FORTES.

**Psycho-Analysis of Primitive Cultural Types.** By Geza Róheim. (*The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, Vol. XIII, parts 1 and 2, Róheim Australasian Research Number), London, 1932. Baillière, Tindall & Cox. 224 pp.

Dr. Róheim is already well-known to anthropologists for several publications upon primitive psychology from the psycho-analytic standpoint. In the opening pages of the present work he tells us that hitherto anthropologists have refused to take his contributions seriously on account of his lack of field experience. Accordingly, during 1929 and 1930 he went into the field and spent four months with the Arunta and Luricha of Central Australia, nine months on Normanby Island in the

D'Entrecasteaux group, and a month with the Somali in Aden and Djibouti. As was perhaps to be expected, the results of such an investigation are remarkable and may cause anthropologists to recast whole departments of their science. For example, the possibility now exists of a psychological classification of mankind. "A wide gulf divides the Australian from all other people, only (the Australians) can be described as primitives in the true sense of the word" (p. 4). And lest the reader might wonder what the true sense of the word 'primitive' might be, Dr. Róheim gives the criteria—"the absence of the latency period, relatively slight depth of repression with rapidly ensuing projection and total absence of the anal-reactive character-formation" (pp. 4-5).

Nor is it only the comparatively minor problem of racial differentiation that is here solved for us by Dr. Róheim; the whole question of human progress is for him a question no longer. "Civilization arises from the genito-fugal movement of the libido, i.e., the energy (libido) which is used for cultural purposes must come from somewhere. Its source is direct sexual activity, what civilization gains it gains at the expense of the woman" (p. 5). Had Dr. Róheim's expedition borne no other fruit, that discovery alone would have rendered it memorable.

It will enable anthropologists to understand and appreciate this work more readily if they will first divest themselves of their old-fashioned distrust of the *non-sequitur*, for it is that logical mechanism more than any other which the author employs to prove his various theses.

C. W. M. HART.

**Primitives and the Supernatural.** By Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. Translated by Lilian A. Claire. London, Allen & Unwin, 1936. 405 pp. Price 18s.

This is a translation of 'Le Surnaturel et la Nature dans la Mentalité Primitive,' published in 1931, a book well known in this country, and an instalment of Professor Lévy-Bruhl's examination of the evidence for the existence of the pre-logical stage in the development of the human reason, which examination he has since carried further in subsequent volumes.

As we should expect from the author, it is admirably logical and well arranged with a large number of well chosen examples from first-hand sources. That no very definite conclusion is forced upon the reader is perhaps inevitable owing to the vagueness of the subject. The statement "To them (the primitive) the supernatural, although distinct from nature is yet not separate and apart" (p. 340) is perhaps as good a summing up of the author's attitude as can be found in the book. It is now too late to quarrel with his use of the word 'primitive.'

The translation is even and easy to read, and, if in some places somewhat free, represents well the meaning of the original, but one small grumble may be permitted, nowhere in the book is stated the title or date of publication of the original, and in such a book the date is important.

H. COOTE LAKE.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Carrying the Bride.

**176** SIR,—We are all familiar with the rule that the king's feet may not touch the ground.

If the marriage ceremony is of royal origin we may expect to find this rule applied to the bride and the bridegroom as playing the parts of queen and king. It is, of course, possible we may not find it, since we are not here dealing with laws of nature, eternal recurrences, but with patterns of behaviour that grow and decay.

Yet grow and decay as they may, they are so remarkably persistent that we can confidently set out in search of our postulated rule with the assurance that we shall not be wasting our time.

We find it in Macassar: a Bugi bride may not touch the ground during the whole three days of her wedding (*Illustrated London News*, 4. 4. 1931, p. 550). We find it among the Bakitara shepherds; the bride is carried to the bridegroom's house and only allowed to alight on a



grass carpet (Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, 269). In the Beheira Province of Egypt I have seen her carried by her eldest brother from her room to a camel's back.

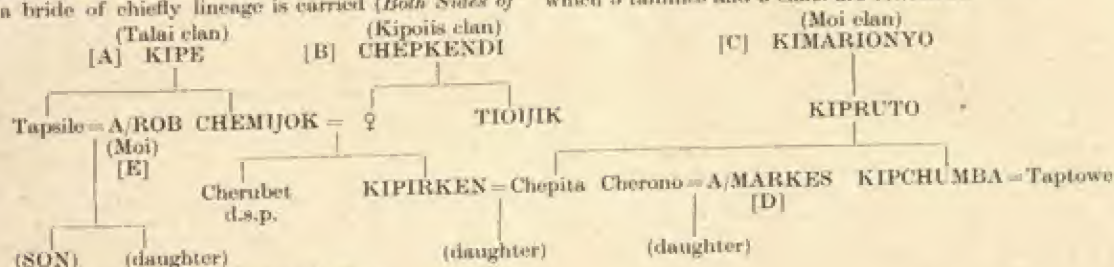
As usual foreign customs serve chiefly to make us think about our own. We return from distant lands prepared to notice what we formerly only saw, that an English bride steps out of her carriage on to a red mat such as is spread for kings and king's representatives to walk upon.

The bridegroom ought also to be carried or walk on mats. Examples, however, are less common, because it is a common custom for him to wait at home for his bride. If he goes forth he often rides. In Ceylon it is one of the duties of the washerman to spread cloths for him and his bride to walk on when they go in procession. Here he is stated by the people to be a king, even a god, for the time being. In Lakemba, Fiji, the pair walk on bark-cloth painted with reddish brown designs (Fijians would call it red).

The custom of carrying must have spread, like the marriage ritual as a whole, from king to proletarian by degrees. We should then find intermediate stages in which it has not yet penetrated to the bottom. Miss Blackwood tells us that in the North of Bougainville only a bride of chiefly lineage is carried (*Both Sides of*

may not marry into the family by which the bride-wealth was paid. The facts, however, are somewhat different, and there is actually no parallel between the Nandi and Didinga customs. In Nandi, certain clans are permanently and definitely forbidden intermarriage with certain other clans; the list in Hollis, "Nandi," pp. 8-11, is correct except for the prohibition on Talai-Kipoiis marriages, which are lawful. Whatever the origin of these prohibitions may have been, there is (at any rate nowadays) no connection with marriage or bride-wealth. The Didinga clan-prohibitions appear to be dependent on previous and presumably recent marriages.

Among the Nandi, the bride-wealth is paid to the bride's father, it becomes his personal property, and it is shared with nobody, unless he chooses to allow his wives or children to have the use of it. On his death it passes to his son(s); if he has no surviving sons, it goes to his daughter(s); if neither sons nor daughters survive him, it goes to his brother's son (or daughter). Bride-wealth consists of the animals originally paid, and their accumulated progeny. The prohibition on family intermarriage is based on previous marriages, and can best be shown by the following pedigree in which 5 families and 3 clans are concerned:



[A], [B] etc. = different families.

A = Arap (son of).

Children and grandchildren of KIPIRKEN (Fam. A) may not marry into families B or C or E.

Children and grandchildren of KIPCHUMBA (Fam. C) may not marry into families A or B.

Children and grandchildren of both these may not marry into family D.

*Buka Pass*, 88). In Egypt this honour has reached the lowliest peasants.

No case seems to have been reported in modern times where the whole marriage rite is restricted to the king; but Strabo seems to have heard of one (XVI. 4. 17). He says that among the Troglodytes "women and children are in common, except in the case of chiefs (*tyrannois*); and he who seduced the chief's wife is fined a sheep."

If marriage began with the king so must adultery have done, for there is no adultery without a marriage ceremony; you cannot commit adultery with a man's mistress; it is not unlawful to seduce her; at the worst it may be bad form. Adultery, on the other hand, is unlawful, which means that the king has to take cognizance. We now see the reason why. A. M. HOCART.

#### Bride-wealth and Marriage. (Cf. MAN, 1936, 48.)

177 SIR.—It is no doubt tempting, in the absence of recorded or available facts, to define the customs of one tribe in forms borrowed from another. Mr. Field's letter is an example of the dangers which may lie in this method. He explains the admittedly not very helpful statement by Hollis that "families may often not intermarry" ("Nandi," p. 6), with the aid of a parallel from the Didinga; his explanation (as I understand it) assumes that the live-stock paid as bride-wealth is distributed among the Nandi to various people who are entitled to share it, as among the Didinga, and that those who have received such a share

It may be logically inferred from this (and is so in fact), that two brothers may not marry two sisters, nor may a man marry his deceased wife's sister, though a widow is expected to live with her deceased husband's brother. The same rules apply to sexual intercourse of young men with uncircumcised girls; a man may not associate with a girl of a clan or family into which he may not marry.

And while on the subject of 'families,' it may be as well to explain, in order to prevent possible misconceptions, that the Nandi have no proper word for 'family.' It is true that Hollis's vocabulary gives 3 words, *or*, *kápkatun*, and *kápyukoi* ("Nandi," p. 256). The first of these, *or*, means "road," and is used of *clans* in the phrase *tiond' ap oret*, "clan-animal" (totem); the second, *kápkatun*, from *itun*, "marry," means "group into which (a woman) is married"; the third, *kápyukoi* (Suk, *kapikoi*) means "wife's father" and "wife's brother." To express "family" one can only use a phrase like *piik-chök (-kuk)*, "my (thy) people," or *lakök-chök (-kuk)*, "my (thy) children"; or else the people referred to must be defined by the use of terms of relationship.

At the beginning of this letter I referred to "the absence of recorded facts." The fact that "the bride-cattle become the property of the woman's father" among the Nandi is recorded by me in a paper on "The Significance of Bride-price." (*Journ. East Afr. and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1933, No. 45-6, pp. 52, 55); and, if really necessary, parallels might have been



been drawn from people nearer Sandi than the Didinga, *et al.*, Pastoral and Agricultural Suk and Endo: bride-price paid to parents (Beech, "Suk," p. 32); Dorobo: bride-price paid to father. (*J.R.A.I.*, 1929, lix. 353).  
G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

**Geometrical Art.** (*Cf. J.R.A.I.*, *lxix*, 129-176, MAN, 1935, 20.)

**178** *Sin.*—In a previous communication (MAN, XXXV, 20) I mentioned the possibility of other geometrical designs being known to the natives of the Tanga islands. I wrote to Father Neuhaus who has extensive and intimate knowledge of this part of the Bismarek Archipelago, and asked him whether he had any records of similar drawings.

In his reply he says: "The native drawing which you mention in your letter is also known at Namatanai. It has no religious significance there. The natives

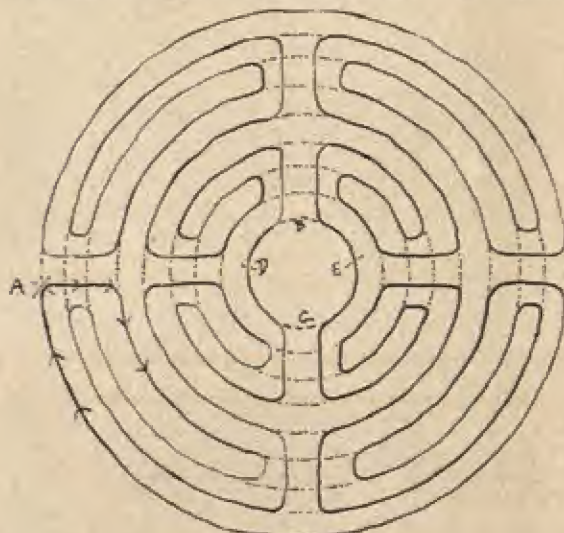


FIG. 1.

"name it a *hiruan/pano* = (a thing) 'one has been killed for it' (see Fig. 1), and they relate the following story:—

"A man and his wife were sitting on the beach. The man went to sleep and whilst he was asleep his wife made this drawing on the sand. When it was finished she woke him up and asked him to trace along the lines of the drawing. The man attempted to do so, but he could only follow one side of the figure because the woman had altered a few lines. (The woman altered the design by closing the gates (*sic*) at B and C and making new openings at D and E, thus disconnecting the two halves of the drawing.) He tried a second and a third time to follow the maze but without success. He then became so angry that he picked up his club and killed his wife on the spot.

"Another drawing of this type is also known to the Namatanai people. It is called a *taba lulu* = 'hanging with the head downwards' (see Fig 2), and it derives its name from the fruit of a wild vine.

"I have not yet witnessed these or similar drawings at Lihir. As I have said, the Namatanai people don't connect them with religious ideas, but that is no proof that they did not have a religious meaning originally."

<sup>1</sup> Father Neuhaus is at present stationed in the Lihir Group.

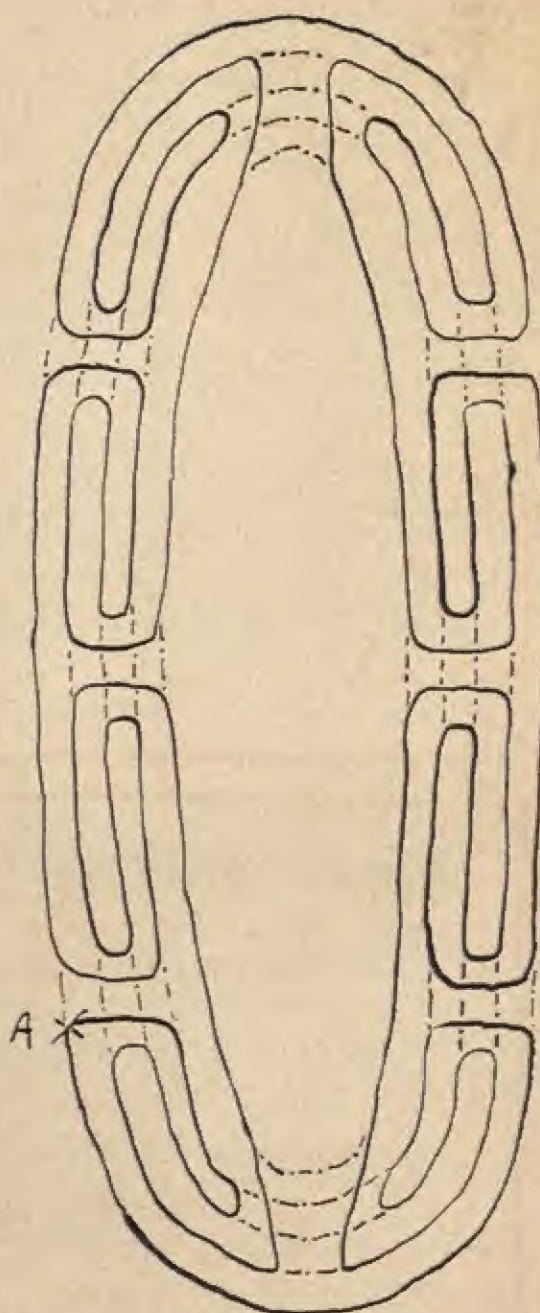


FIG. 2.

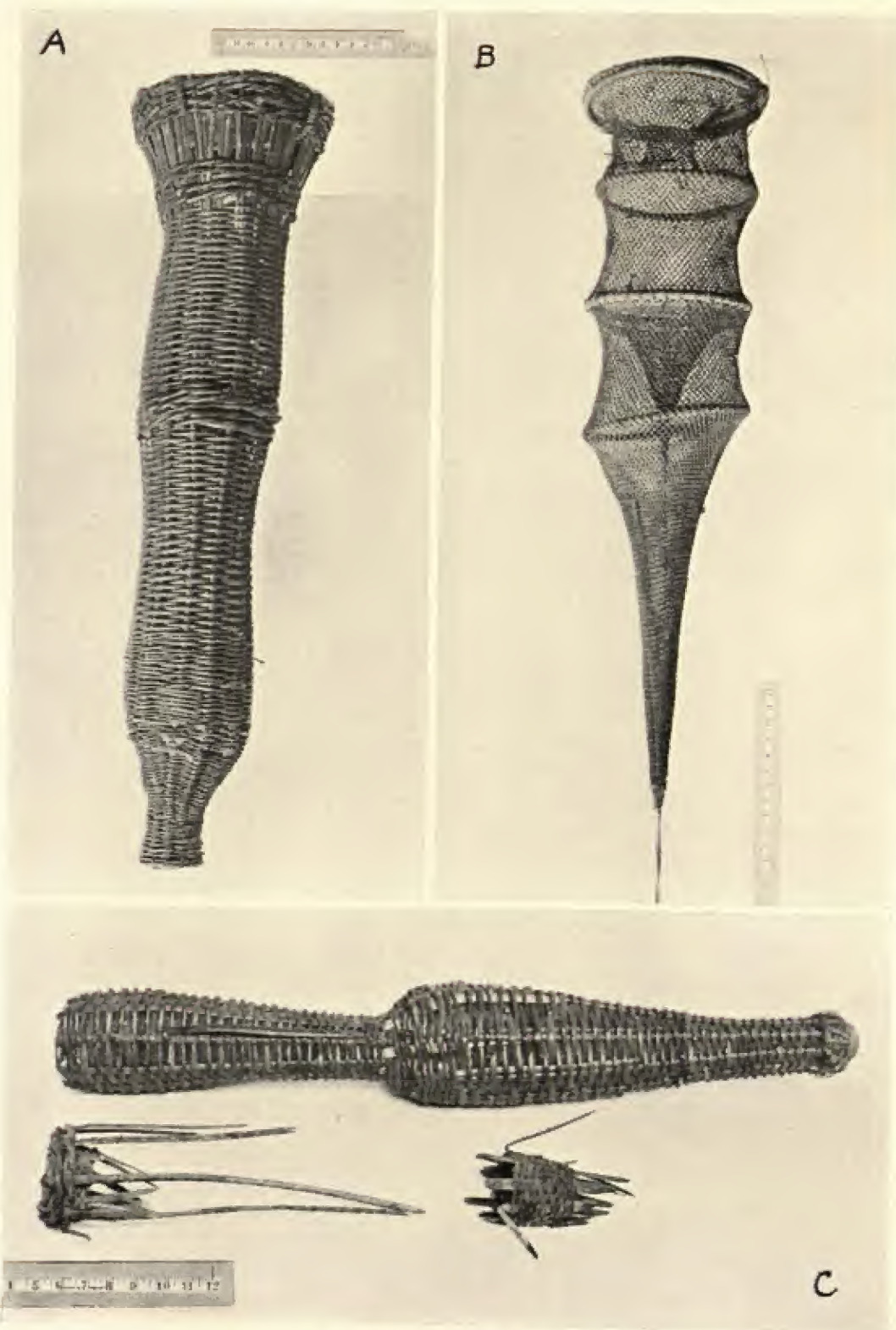
The two main points of interest in the above account are: (1) it definitely establishes the fact that these curious geometrical designs are part of the New Ireland culture, even to the extent of being connected with its mythology, and (2) it lends support to Deacon's criticism of the Malekulan drawings: "Each design is regarded as a kind of maze."

F. L. S. BELL.









# FENLAND EEL-TRAPS

A. A GRID, OF SPLIT OSIERS.

B. A COD, OF SETTING.

C. A HIF, OF SPLIT OSIERS, WITH ITS TWO CHAIRS SEPARATELY.



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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XXXVI, 179-199

AUGUST, 1936

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Britain: Technology.

With Plate K.

Tebbutt and Sayce.

**FENLAND EEL-TRAPS.** By C. F. Tebbutt and R. U. Sayce.

**179** In MAN, 1934, 178, Mr. I. C. Peate described a type of eel-trap that is still used in the Severn about Worcester. Several types of traps are still in use in the Fens; the photograph shows three traps that were obtained this year at Earith, Huntingdonshire, about fifteen miles from Cambridge. They were bought from the maker, Mr. Killingsworth, who is probably one of the few men still able to make them.

The type represented by Plate K A is known locally as a *grig*; it is made of split osiers, with the bark left on. In general shape it resembles the trap described by Mr. Peate, though the method of construction is different; it is also more closely woven and would not allow the smaller eels to escape. The Fenland nomenclature differs from that used in Worcestershire. This particular *grig* is 4 feet 10 inches long; the entrance at the *head* measures 1 foot 3 inches by 1 foot. The broad end is called the top end; the narrow end (Worcestershire: *starling*) is the bottom end. The two cones of pointed sticks (Worcestershire: *inchins*) are known as *chairs*, a word that is applied in early seventeenth century surveys to a narrow part of a river (Atkyns, Reports on the Fens, 1618; see Wells, History of the Bedford Level, Vol. II, p. 91). Plate K B shows a similar type of trap, but one made of a different material, netting; it is known as a *cod*. Some have five hoops.

The *grig* or *cod* is used when the eels are descending the rivers. The top end is placed, facing up-stream, in a hole in the middle of a net which is stretched across the narrow part of a watercourse. No bait is used, because the only way for the eels to avoid the net is to enter the trap. Mr. Phillips, The Boat House, Welshpool, tells us that the Worcestershire type and the *cod* were used until a few years ago above Shrewsbury, especially about Shrawardine. They were placed with their nets in a ditch as a flood was subsiding, and were not put into the main river, where, during autumn floods, the entrances would soon have been choked by leaves and twigs. On the Severn above Shrewsbury the *grig* was called a *will* and the *cod*, a *will-net*. In the *will* a bait was used as in Worcestershire.

Plate K C represents a smaller type of trap, known as a *hive*; its two *chairs* are shown separately. This type, which is made of split osiers, has no *head*; the eels enter the first *chair* directly. The end of the second chamber, through which the eels are taken out, is stopped by a wooden plug. The *hive* is placed on the bed of a river, with the entrance facing down-stream. No net is attached to the *hive*, but a bait is used. This is a worm threaded on the end of a piece of wire, the rest of which is wound round a stick and arranged so that the worm dangles inside the *hive*.

A fourth type of eel-trap used about Earith consists of a cylinder of wire-netting stretched about three iron hoops. A cone of wire-netting at each end provides an entrance for the eels.

**HORMONES AND EVOLUTION:** An examination of certain views on the part played by the Endocrine Glands in human evolution. By S. Zuckerman, Beit Memorial Research Fellow, Department of Human Anatomy, Oxford. Summary of a lecture delivered at the Royal Anthropological Institute, June 12, 1936 (cf. MAN, 1936, 154).

**180** Some ten years before Darwin published specific hormonal mechanism, by showing that *The Origin of Species*, an experimentalist an 'internal secretion' of the testes is responsible named Berthold exposed for the first time a for the development of secondary sexual



characteristics in birds. Knowledge of corresponding mechanisms in other bodily systems was slow in growing, and at least fifty years passed before a general concept of endocrine action was clearly formulated. As is widely recognized now, the new concept put forward at the beginning of this century outlines a mechanism for the integration of bodily processes at least as important as that provided for the same end by the nervous system.

Integrative mechanisms necessarily come into the consideration of organic evolution. For example, the overt responses of most organisms to external stimulation, evoked in the process of environmental selection, are clearly dependent on the integrative action of a nervous system, and selection is involved in all reasonable formulations of the evolutionary problem. It is in no way remarkable that the new integrative system of the body provided by the endocrine organs was soon seized on by those whose business it was to write and talk about evolution.

In 1904, Bayliss and Starling had referred to the hormones as one of the main agencies by means of which internal bodily co-ordination takes place, and harmonious functional adaptation occurs.<sup>1</sup> Six years later, Bourne, at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, slightly changed the emphasis of this generalization by relegating to the endocrine system the evolutionary control of bodily growth and form.<sup>2</sup> Speculation was taken a step further at the meeting of the following year, when Dendy suggested that changes in the endocrine system might be responsible not only for individual, but also for racial characters.<sup>3</sup> The same view has been advanced by Sir Arthur Keith in a number of papers, and it is largely owing to his strong support that a 'hormone theory of evolution' has become a familiar matter of discussion.<sup>4</sup> The exact significance Sir Arthur attaches to hormones in relation to the evolutionary problem is clearly brought out in the introduction to his Herter lectures of 1922.<sup>5</sup> After referring to Darwin's failure to discover in any of the then-

considered evolutionary mechanisms (*e.g.*, selection, the effects of use and disuse) an explanation for the physical differences between Negroes, Mongols, and Europeans, he suggests that the endocrine system is the missing agency for which Darwin sought. This conclusion has been elaborated by several writers, and most recently by J. R. Marett,<sup>6</sup> who gives as his opinion that "differences in environment have served, through "natural selection, to modify the unit hereditary "factors responsible for the behaviour of the "various endocrines, and that racial differentiation has followed mainly in this way."

Bolk's views on the subject have also been prominent,<sup>7</sup> but they are more concerned with the process of the differentiation of Man from his fellow-Primates, than with the question of racial differentiation in Man. According to Bolk, a process of increasing 'foetalization' may be observed in the course of primate evolution, the process reaching its climax in Man with the retention in adult life of a number of characters which can be recognized only during infantile stages in the development of sub-human Primates. Bolk regards the human retention of such characters as indicating the inhibition of a developmental process, and he attributes the inhibition to the action of the human endocrine system.

Such, in broad outline, are the main issues which I have to examine. The essential points to be considered are: (a) What significance should be attached in evolutionary discussion to the view that the endocrine system is responsible for physical and psychological characteristics? (b) What value is to be attached to Bolk's view of the endocrine mechanism through which Man has become a foetalized Primate? and (c) Does the so-called hormone-theory of evolution in fact reveal some novel evolutionary mechanism, or does it merely push the main problem one step further back by insinuating hormones between the known processes concerned in evolutionary change and the structures whose evolution it is the business of physical anthropologists to consider? In approaching these problems, it is well

<sup>1</sup> Bayliss, W. M. and Starling, E. H. 1904. *Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 73, 310.

<sup>2</sup> Bourne, G. C. 1910. *Rep. Brit. Ass.*, London, p. 619.

<sup>3</sup> Dendy, A. 1911. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> Keith, Sir Arthur. 1923. *Nature* (Supp.), Aug. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Keith, Sir Arthur. 1922. *Johns Hopkins Hosp.*

*Bull.*, 33, 155.

<sup>6</sup> Marett, J. R. de la H. 1936. *Race, Sex and Environment*. London: Hutchinson.

Marett, J. R. de la H. 1936. *Zs. Rassenkunde*, 3, 190.

<sup>7</sup> Bolk, L. 1921. *Lancet*, 2, 588. 1926. *Das Problem der Menschwerdung*. Jena: Fischer.



to remember that no writer, with possibly only the single exception of Stockard,<sup>8</sup> who has developed the views under discussion has been an experimental endocrinologist, and that when these views were first put forward, extremely little was known of the physiology of any of the endocrine organs except the adrenals. The time is obviously ripe for the examination of the 'hormone-theory of evolution' in the light of the endocrinological advances of the past ten to fifteen years.

*The Endocrine Control of Physical and Psychological Characters.*—The view that all the characters of the organism are moulded by an endocrine mechanism is based on the belief that there must be such a mechanism to subserve the developmental integration of the various bodily systems in order that the correlated action of an 'organism' as a whole should be possible. This *a priori* view has to a large extent been justified by recent research. The experimental study of embryology has shown that developmental processes are controlled by 'organizing' substances which determine the development of the otherwise plastic tissue of the young embryo, a development that results in the fixation and definition of the separate bodily systems. It has also been found that organizers are chemical substances related to carcinogens and oestrogenic hormones, and accordingly there is every reason to believe that orderly embryological development is a reflection of the chemical inter-relations of the different tissues of a developing organism.

The chemical evocators produced by the cells presumably act by diffusion through the tissues, and thus they do not fit the classical definition of a hormone as a substance liberated into the blood stream by one organ to act on other distant structures. Nevertheless there seems good reason to consider hormones and organizers as belonging to a single class of substances concerned with the chemical regulation of form and function, and in the circumstances it is substantially correct to regard the developmental correlation of bodily systems as being, partly at least, a function of a hormonal mechanism.

We know nothing about individual differences in the endocrine control of embryogenesis, and the admission of a hormonal control of development does not therefore advance our knowledge

of the differentiation of individual and racial types very far. Presumably this fact is recognized by those who write about the endocrine control of physical and psychological types, for it is their custom to emphasize the influence hormones play in embryonic life far less than the control exercised by the hormones of the mature organism. Cobb, for instance, undertakes the diagnosis of the specific hormonal characteristics of Henry the Eighth and Catherine the Great from portraits and from accounts of their activities, and what he is prepared to do for these figures of history, he is even more prepared to do for racial types.<sup>9</sup> What is usually meant by the endocrine control of physical and psychological characters thus appears to be the dependence of the characters of any given individual on some specific functional inter-relation of his endocrine organs. This far-reaching idea is primarily based on observation of a few defined endocrine diseases in which a physical and psychological syndrome is conspicuous. The acromegalic, for example, with his pronounced osseous overgrowth, is as different from a normal individual as is his opposite, the fat individual with undeveloped reproductive organs, suffering from under-activity of the pituitary. It is justifiable to argue from facts such as these that were it possible to change the endocrine make-up of any given individual, one would also change his physical and psychological aspect. It is doubtful, however, whether this deduction materially advances knowledge, and it is more than likely that its overemphasis is misleading. Physical and psychological characters are dependent on an enormous number of factors besides hormones. One has to remember that while abnormalities of physique and character are associated with a deficiency of thyroid secretion, abnormalities which are at least as pronounced may be present in an individual, with normal endocrine balance, who is, let us suggest, a hunchback suffering from advanced cancer.

Those unfamiliar with the literature of the subject might well imagine from the prominence given the thesis, that as a result of laboratory investigation it is known that different individuals and different racial types possess distinctive types of endocrine balance. They would be mistaken. Not the slightest direct experimental evidence has been advanced in support of this view. The

<sup>8</sup> Stockard, C. R. 1931. *The Physical Basis of Personality*. New York: Norton.

<sup>9</sup> Cobb, I. G. 1936. *The Glands of Destiny*. London: Heinemann.



arguments on this point of Cobb and J. R. Marett, for example, are in larger part dangerous speculation based on the extrapolation of experimental data from the fields to which they apply to others far removed from scientific inquiry. There is no need to seek far for a reason for this fact. Endocrinology cannot yet provide the techniques for the endocrinological assaying of different individual and racial types. Perhaps that is why experimental endocrinologists have not themselves been anxious to promote anthropological speculations, whereas students of human evolution, ignorant of this fact, and with a host of unsolved, and sometimes imperfectly formulated, problems, have bowed with undue eagerness before the rising star of Endocrinology.

I do not propose to spend time considering the clinical conditions of endocrine disorder which provide the main indirect basis for the endocrine theory of human differentiation. It is enough to say that the number of these conditions is not large. Nor do I intend to take up time considering the experimental data about hormones which have also been used as a basis for evolutionary argument. The results of the experimental ablation of endocrine organs undoubtedly supports the view that certain specific clinical conditions are due to lack of specific hormones; on the other hand, only limited success has as yet been achieved in the simulation in experimental animals of the complicated clinical syndromes which, it is usually believed, result from endocrine hypersecretion (*e.g.*, acromegaly). A more important question is the heritability of conditions of endocrine disorder. Since the anthropological argument is primarily based on analogy with clinical conditions, endocrine disorders should be as much genetically determined as would corresponding conditions if they were indicative of true racial differences. Unfortunately the data do not permit a firm answer to this question, but in so far as they permit any, the answer is not favourable to the anthropological argument. Many endocrine disorders are incompatible with reproduction; heredity is said to be an unimportant factor in the aetiology of most others; and in any event we have little reason to suppose that the genetic basis of clinical endocrine disorders is ever sufficiently dominant to provoke alarm lest these conditions spread on account of their heritability.

There is, however, some comparative support

for the anthropological thesis we are discussing. Stockard has found that the characteristics of certain breeds of dog are transmitted in a fairly simple Mendelian way, and it is his contention that these characteristics are merely expressions of specific types of endocrine balance. It is true that no one has succeeded in converting a dog deprived of all its endocrine glands into any given breed by the administration of the proper hormones, but it has to be also admitted that even though it lacks direct experimental proof, Stockard's view is a strong one.

The lack of substance to the hypothesis that the endocrine system is responsible for the differentiation of the physical and psychological characteristics of racial types is amply revealed in the arbitrary nature of the diagnoses it allows about the endocrine make-up of given types. This deficiency applies equally in the consideration of both animal and human varieties; its exemplification requires no more than the consideration of a single character—pigmentation.

Abnormal pigmentation of the skin occurs in some pituitary disorders, in myxoedema (a thyroid disorder), and most conspicuously in Addison's disease, the essential pathology of which is destruction of the adrenal cortex. In Addison's disease the skin becomes bronzed, and although there are no experimental data which show how the bronzing is brought about, it is generally believed that when the pigmentation lessens during the successful treatment of the disease with cortin (the hormone of the adrenal cortex), the improvement is due to the skin stretching in consequence of the rehydration of the subcutaneous tissues. This disease forms the main clinical background for speculations about the pigmentation of black people. Bolk simply ascribes negroid coloration to adrenal insufficiency. Cobb attributes it to a combination of the same factor, the influence of the sun, atmospheric humidity and a vegetarian diet. J. R. Marett's speculation is even more ingenious, and demands what he refers to as the 'somewhat dangerous assumption' that Man possesses dermal melanophores similar to those of amphibia. We need not, however, follow his speculation any further, for there can be no justification in Science for the construction of hypotheses which are founded on the mis-statement of fact. Whatever it is that lies behind the coloration of the Negro, it has certainly so far eluded the dialectical skill of



proponents of the theory of the endocrine differentiation of human types.

The attempt to explain pigmentation in terms of hormones—quite apart from its failure—exposes a great weakness of the method of the argument. The method unjustifiably assumes that it is possible to attribute a single character to the insufficiency of a given hormone without considering the other effects of such an insufficiency. So far as is known, the cortex of the adrenals secretes only one hormone. If negroid coloration is due to its insufficiency, then Negroes should also suffer from a crippling muscular weakness, to mention only one other of a series of the ill-effects of the lack of cortin. The poverty of the argument is no less plain when we come to the consideration of an endocrine organ with multiple secretions, for example, the pituitary. On the basis of the Negro's tall stature, a character whose explanation may demand the consideration of countless factors, J. R. Marett argues that the Negro 'must' experience 'a greater activity of the anterior pituitary than the Bushman.' The anterior lobe, however, elaborates several principles, and even were the Negro possessed of more growth-hormone than the Bushman, it does not follow that his pituitary might not be deficient in some other hormone. Indeed, there is strong evidence that endocrine glands with multiple hormones elaborate them differentially in response to different stimulations at different times. But it is unnecessary to labour these points further, and in summarizing the remarks I have made so far, all I need say is that while it is plain that hormones and organizing substances are intimately concerned in the development and maintenance of human characters, it is equally certain that we do not yet possess the data for making definite interpretations of racial types in terms of hormones.

*The Fetalization of Man.*—We are faced with a correspondingly unfortunate lack of definition in Bolk's views of the fetalization of Man, the process through which, so it is claimed, we became differentiated from our fellow Primates. Bolk postulates a general process of slowing down in embryogeny, as well as a process of neotony, whereby general fetal characters which are overlaid as development proceeds in other Primates, became part of the mature human form. In general, it would seem that both these

processes have occurred. In detail, the story seems somewhat illusory.

Bolk insists that his theory deals not with human phylogeny (*Menschabstammung*), but with the question of the manner of the evolution of the human form (*Menschwerdung*). It is plain, however, that the processes of retardation of development and fetalization can only be evaluated properly against the background of an acceptable phylogeny. Man might be a fetalized Primate in respect to the chimpanzee, but if the human's and the chimpanzee's evolutions were independent processes, the matter of fetalization would be of little interest so far as these two primate forms alone are concerned. We have to consider whether or not there has been an orderly process of fetalization—as Bolk implies there has been—in the course of primate evolution, or whether 'fetalization' is not a general primate potentiality which has become expressed in Man without any relation to its manifestations in other members of our order of mammals. Had Bolk possessed the data we now have, I rather suspect he would have come to the latter view, instead of that of an orderly process which culminated in that somewhat undefinable entity, Nordic Man.

Bolk found evidence for the retardation of human development by comparing the length of intra-uterine life, the times of tooth-eruption, and the onset of puberty in Man and other Primates. His data undoubtedly exaggerate the differences, and their inaccuracy obscures the fact that the differences between monkeys and apes in these respects are greater relatively than those between apes and Man. As the facts really stand, it is impossible to claim that the temporal differences in these processes are commensurate with the physical and psychological differences between these three groups of mammals.

A corresponding discordance between Bolk's views and those acceptable to-day is encountered when one considers the characters whereby Bolk demonstrated Man's fetalization. For example, Man may be fetalized relative to the dog in respect of his cranial flexures, but it is doubtful if he is when the baboon is taken as the subject of comparison, and when the spheno-maxillary angle is taken as the index of flexure.<sup>10</sup> Again it is idle to suppose that the persistence of a hymen in Man is explained by declaring it to be

<sup>10</sup> Zuckerman, S. 1926. *Proc. Zool. Soc.*, London, p. 843.



an effect of a process of foetalization; the structure has a complicated morphogenetic history, and its persistence presumably has a genetic basis. Furthermore its history in sub-human Primates is yet to be determined. The labia majora, also, which are said to disappear in the course of development in apes and monkeys (whereas they persist into maturity in Man) in fact become in most species part of a specialized structure called the sexual skin. The story of hair in the primate order is also not, as Schultz's data show,<sup>11</sup> the simple one of increasing pedomorphosis that Bolk made it out to be, and the same is true of other characters like the pelvis.<sup>12</sup>

The shortcomings in the details of Bolk's theory become even more obvious when his explanations of the hormonal mechanisms of the processes of retardation and foetalization are examined. No one, for example, could accept to-day the view that the pineal gland elaborates a secretion which slows down the whole developmental process, or the view that the thyroid controls the labia majora. The recent attempt by Steffenko to provide support for Bolk's views on endocrines is plainly misdirected.<sup>13</sup> A comparative histological study of the endocrine organs of some Primates cannot provide evidence about the way these organs secrete.

We are left then with this. Growth-processes are considerably influenced by hormonal mechanisms, but the details of their inter-relations have not as yet been more than superficially explained. The rate of human development is considerably slower than that of most non-primate mammals, and also of monkeys; relatively speaking, it is not very much slower than that of apes. Finally, it is possible to recognize a process of neotony or foetalization in human development if we are not too critical about the choice and details of the developmental processes which form a basis of comparison. Within the limits of the Primates, an orderly process of increasing foetalization cannot be clearly recognized.

*Hormones and the Evolutionary Process.*—Even though the details of the process escape our grasp, it is thus not unlikely that 'foetalization'—pedomorphosis—has been one of the processes whereby human characteristics have emerged in

evolution, and since the growth-processes are influenced by an endocrine mechanism, it follows that human evolution may have proceeded by a series of changes in the human endocrine complex. This conclusion is hardly as startling as certain authors have pretended. In so far as bodily form is ontogenetically controlled by a class of substances which in general may be termed hormones, it necessarily follows that evolutionary change in bodily form may result from evolutionary changes in the hormonal mechanism. But we find ourselves defeated if we attempt to seek in this conclusion some novel understanding of the evolutionary process. The endocrine system, using the term in its widest possible sense, is but a medium through which evolutionary change is expressed. The endocrine complex of an individual is no less genetically determined than is every other of his characters; and however sensitive it may be to environmental stimulation, we have no knowledge that any effects upon itself, which its own responses may determine, are transmitted to a succeeding generation. There is, in short, no authority to assume that evolutionary changes in endocrine complex can be brought about in any way except by gene-mutation, or that they can be perpetuated except by successful selection. Much more, it is true, has from time to time been assumed—in particular that hormones provide a basis for a Lamarckian evolution, i.e., for the modification of the germ cells by functionally-wrought somatic changes. Cunningham, for example, saw in the hormones the 'gemmules' which Darwin's theory of pangenesis demanded.<sup>14</sup> J. R. Marett, again, in spite of his insistence on selection, finds in the endocrine system a mechanism far more sensitive to environmental influence, and a far more dominant evolutionary force, than the facts warrant. It is enough to say of these views that the authoritative opinion is that there is practically little evidence which proves that induced modifications are ever inherited. The evidence on this problem has been ably summarized recently by Robson and Richards.<sup>15</sup>

*Conclusion.*—What I have said requires no detailed summary. There is no doubt that hormones are concerned in the moulding of human

<sup>11</sup> Schultz, A. H. 1931. *Human Biol.*, 3, 303.

<sup>12</sup> Schultz, A. H. 1930. *Ibid.*, 2, 303.

<sup>13</sup> Steffenko, W. 1929. *Zs. Mikros. Anat. Forsch.*, 16, 295.

<sup>14</sup> Cunningham, J. T. 1911. *Hormones and Heredity*. London: Constable.

<sup>15</sup> Robson, G. C. and Richards, O. W. 1936. *The Variation of Animals in Nature*. London: Longmans.



characteristics, neither need we question the part they play, through their control of ontogenetic processes, in evolution. The admission of these two theses does not, as I have repeatedly emphasized, provide any basis for close speculation about the course of human evolution; neither is it true that the available facts of endocrinology constitute a measuring rod by which to make an estimate of the divergence between different racial types. As the subject advances, and methods of endocrinological assay become perfected, it is to be hoped that this will become possible. Existing attempts at such estimates advance anthropology less perhaps than they bring disrepute to endocrinology. Accounts

of these estimates may at times provide engaging reading, but scientifically they can be of little more consequence than, let us suggest, Crookshank's polyphyletic views of human descent. So far as endocrinological anthropology is concerned, it must always be remembered that hormones are only one aspect of the developmental process. The tissues of the organism are not entirely plastic, and at the mercy of any hormone that plays on them. Even were we to understand in detail the part played by hormones in the determination and maintenance of form, we would still be left with the more significant problem of the origin and meaning of tissue-specificity.

**PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND ANTHROPOLOGY.** Suggestions for a fuller collaboration. *By H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece.*

**181** This year Professor Freud reached his eightieth year. In my efforts to bring about a fuller collaboration between psycho-analysis and anthropology, I would like to join Dr. Géza Róheim (*MAN*, 1936, 98) in celebrating this anniversary in an anthropological publication.

Professor Freud's great achievement lies in the fact that he has given us a scientific method by which the human psyche can be investigated. Originally, he set out to find the cause of neurosis and, with this aim in mind, he first studied Charcot's and Bernheim's hypnosis. Finding it therapeutically insufficient, he collaborated with Breuer in developing what was then called the cathartical method. Wishing to still further this new technique, he went on alone to discover psycho-analysis.

This method can be described as an experimental observation through speech of the deeper motives of human behaviour. It is of scientific value in so far as it is carried out with dispassionate impartiality—no mean task in this case.

Anthropology, as the science of man, cannot fail to be interested by one which deals with the human mind. Collaboration can be of the greatest value to both of them.

The main tendencies of psycho-analysis are too well known for me to insist on them. But, for clarity of exposition, it is necessary, if only rapidly, to sum up those points which are of special importance to anthropological research work.

I. The sexual impulse pervades many more

fields of man's activity than is commonly believed. Generally speaking, it can be said to stretch much beyond the purely genital desire and to permeate all other phases of human life. This is specially true of childhood and of the whole period of growth. Adult life still retains some of this character, though sexuality here has concentrated itself principally around genitality. Thus eating, thinking, working, have a sexual aspect which can be distinguished from their otherwise dominating functions.

II. There exists within each of us a very powerful aggressive instinct. As it is only with a later development of psycho-analysis that the importance of this urge has been recognized, it may come as a surprise to those accustomed to think of Freudianism in terms of sex. That repressed aggression plays a capital part in the constitution of neurosis, is nevertheless widely recognized to-day.

III. Freud has drawn a bold scheme of what happens to these two instincts in social life. Both sex and aggression, with the socially disruptive side of their natures, have to be curbed if we are to live and work peacefully with our fellows. Hence our family organization, our system of education creating repressions and deviations of our impulses to make us into the social beings which we are. But, Freud adds, the machinery does not always work smoothly. Neurosis and to some extent insanity are the price we pay for peace and order.

Cultural anthropology can, I believe, greatly assist psycho-analysis in the following way:—



First of all, by *controlling* the universality of Freud's theories. One of the *prima facie* valid objections to psycho-analysis is that these theories, if unquestionably true of our western cultures, are only hypotheses concerning other cultures. Some attempts to prove that man's psyche is everywhere fundamentally the same have already been made. Many distinguished analysts and Freud himself, by interpreting existing anthropological material, have concluded that this is the case. But these attempts are only a beginning. They have only been made on a few outstanding phenomena, very often detached from their cultural setting, such as totemism, taboos, initiation rites. This leaves much ethnographical work to be done yet, by anthropologists with psycho-analytical training.

Next, by *comparing* ourselves with other cultures, anthropology gives us a better viewpoint from which to survey our own social order. By finding out how other people solve the same problems of sex and aggression, we may more easily see our own defects and perhaps gradually gravitate towards some social reform that will minimize the occurrence of neurosis and insanity.

If anthropology can render these services to psycho-analysis, the latter can be of even greater help to anthropology. By enormously adding to the *comprehension* of our own culture, Freud's discoveries will almost certainly enable us to see clearer into those of other peoples. A psycho-analytical key to "ye strange devices of ye beastly heathen" will probably open up a whole new field to anthropological understanding.

Here, too, some attempts have been made. Very prominent among the pioneer field-workers of this category figures Dr. Géza Róheim. His contribution is of great importance and his courage and perseverance in this line are to be highly praised. Yet, much as I admire his work, I cannot help feeling that, at times, over-bearing

psycho-analytical interpretation somewhat biases the scientific value of his writings. Thus, for instance, I fail to see what benefit can be derived from explaining culture as a neurosis (MAN, 1936, 98). To begin with, Dr. Róheim is not taking the word neurosis in its usually accepted meaning. He defines it as "a deviation from direct instinctual gratification by means of a physical system formation." He apparently does not make the distinction between a healthy psychical formation in which "group-living of the Id, the Ego and the Super-Ego is possible" and a *morbid* one in which harmony is not attained. As a rule, the term neurosis only covers the latter. But even then, if neurosis is taken as the equivalent of 'psychic structure' or 'defence formation,' I do not see how so individual a phenomenon can be identical with culture, a social elaboration *par excellence*. They may have some resemblance, but to consider them as being of the same nature can only lead, in my opinion, to the erroneous confusion of two entirely different things. In reality, the tendency to introduce even correct analytical terms, where they can be dispensed with, is regrettable. Without making for more clarity, it only serves in the end to discredit psycho-analysis.

The possibility of analyzing the native as a method of anthropological investigation is still too unsettled for me to mention here. Just as only further experience will show if Freudian methods, after having succeeded in revealing the points in common which men of different cultures possess, will be capable, next, of explaining the differences which obviously exist between them.

As it can be seen, a valuable collaboration between psycho-analysis and anthropology is possible. Here is another field where Professor Freud's discoveries can very usefully serve the cause of mankind.

#### Africa : Technology.

#### THE MAKING OF HARI (CLAY POTS), WATEWE TRIBE.

Shropshire.

By Rev. Denys Shropshire, C.R.

**182** First of all, earth is taken from a specially good ant-heap and mixed with water by hand. The clay is then rolled in the hands and several rolls are placed round the inside of a wooden plate (*ndiro*) and joined together so as to form a continuous spiral. A mealie cob (*guri*) is then used to smooth the outside of these rolls and a piece of a calabash (*mukombe mudimbuka*) to smooth the inside. Following upon this the

sides are thinned out with the same piece of calabash. Now the pot begins to take shape and a piece of sharp bamboo (*mushenjere*) for shaping still further is used. The mealie cob is then dipped in water to carry the shaping process still further and the top is broken off to an even edge. The top is then pressed out with the fingers and afterwards pressed in, thereby giving it an artistic curve. A piece of rag (*jira*) dipped



in water is used to assist this process. Two handles are then made and fixed opposite each other near the top of the pot. The result is placed to dry in the sun for a while and afterwards the base is completed. The pot is then painted in various geometrical designs with different coloured clays and polished with a smooth pebble (*buwe*) and again put in the sun to dry. Afterwards all the pots are put in a heap and covered with dry bark and burnt. This is the final process. The testing of the pots is done by the women who make them. They try them with food and water, which they themselves consume, before they present the pots for household use. I append a list of the tools used in the whole process :—1. A wooden plate. 2. Two mealie cobs. 3. A piece of bamboo. 4. Piece of broken calabash. 5. A round smooth pebble. 6. A rag or leaf to hold the mouth of the pot while shaping it so as not to finger it and spoil its shape.



THE MAKING OF CLAY POTS (*hari*) AMONG THE WATEWE TRIBE.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### THE USE OF SHELLS BY MANKIND.

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National Research Council, U.S.A.: Circular Series No. 20. *Archeo- and Ethno-Conchology*.

The National Research Council of Washington, U.S.A., has included in its Circular Series, No. 20, an appeal for co-operation from Dr. H. J. Boekelman in his specialized study of the use of shells by mankind (*Archeo- and Ethno-Conchology*), for which he has been enabled, by a grant of \$9,000 from the United States Government, to secure the services of a staff of ten persons to carry on the necessary detailed work of such research. As this work is not confined to the Western Hemisphere, this appeal for assistance in the way of information and material is printed herewith, with the hope that readers who are able to help Dr. Boekelman will communicate with him direct.

H. J. Boekelman, who was recently of the Department of Middle American Research, Tulane University, is engaged in carrying out a specialized study of the use of shells by mankind. This centres about assembling all possible pertinent information by means of :—

1. Typewritten copies of published articles placed in loose-leaf binders covering geographic areas. Forty volumes of 400 pages each have been copied, of which 1,500 pages are translations from French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese statements.

2. Index-cards for short statements, of which 6,000 have been filled out in duplicate; one set filed by state or country, the other by article or use.

3. Sixty map-drawings in which are shown the distribution of various types of shell objects, and the known distribution of the species of shell from which such articles were made. Coloured and numbered map-tacks are used, which refer to cards or articles in the files.

4. Filing-drawers in which to preserve and classify specimens of shells as permanent records.

The entire system is simple and flexible, permitting

continual addition of new material in its proper chronological sequence. Of course these data are available to all scientific workers for use in their specialized studies.

Mr. Boekelman would appreciate such help and co-operation as can be rendered by sending him unworked archaeological shells, particularly marine varieties, which have a special significance in the determination of tentative trade routes. Any specimens of worked shell material would likewise be appreciated, for it is often possible to identify the species from which they are made. In return for such assistance, he will be glad to answer any questions which pertain to this subject, in so far as the records at his disposal permit. The extent of his ability to help you will depend to some degree upon the co-operation he receives.

Dr. Boekelman also desires specific information on the following subject :—

### **Archeo- and Ethno-Conchology. Problem No. 1.**

*Question.*—Why do the natives of German West Africa manufacture disc-bead currency from the giant *Achatina moneta* land-snails?

1st. We know that shell money usually has an original, magical or religious significance underlying the purely monetary value placed upon it by primitive races. Hence it is so often found buried with skeletal human remains, and is in some cases protected against robbery by strict laws carrying a death penalty to the person found guilty of stealing such grave deposits.

2nd. We know that, in many primitive cultures, animals are endowed with supernatural powers, such as speech, as is shown by various tales in which the land-snail, among others, occupies a prominent role.

*Question.*—Are there any known indications of magical feelings regarding these land-snails among the tribes occupying the territory in which the *Achatina* snail-currency is manufactured?

*Question.*—If so, would this not indicate the true reason underlying the choosing of this particular snail as a source of raw material for the production of their currency?



Will those interested in the Ethno-Conchology of archaeological or ethnological materials please communicate with H. J. BOEKELMAN, Department of Middle American Research, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A.

N.B.—Since this new communication was already in type, the Director of this Department announces that Dr. Boekelman's researches are now backed exclusively by the Federal Government and the City of New Orleans.

#### BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY AT ATHENS.

**184** On Tuesday, October 13th, 1936, the British School of Archaeology at Athens will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation by holding at the Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, an exhibition to illustrate the Discoveries in Greece and Crete which have resulted from the work of the School, together with a special exhibit devoted to

the Minoan civilizations of Greece, and the excavations of the School's Honorary Student, Sir Arthur Evans, at Knossos, in which the School's architects took part. This exhibit is being prepared by Sir Arthur Evans himself with facilities kindly given him by the Keeper and Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.

It is understood that the exhibition will be inaugurated by His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, on Tuesday, October 13th, at 3 p.m., and will be open to the public from Wednesday, October 14th to Saturday, November 14th.

In connection with the Jubilee of the School it is proposed also to raise a special fund to enable the School to increase its staff, improve its library and accommodation, and provide for the needs of the graduate students who, in increasing numbers, are sent to Greece for advanced study by the Universities.

#### OBITUARY.

**Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje.** Died 26th June, 1936.

**185** The death of Prof. Snouck Hurgronje at Leyden on 26th June is a great loss to all those interested in the World of the Islam, especially in Holland, as no authority in this country was more *au fait* with the characteristics of the Moslems, their tendencies and influence in the East Indies, and with the Moslem world in general.

This influence on his pupils, amongst whom those

Burton, von Maltzahn and Burckhardt did before and lived there several months under the name Abd'al-Ghaffar. His interesting experiences in this town were published in a work of two volumes in 1888-89, which is considered an important contribution in this field. For Snouck Hurgronje himself this visit enabled him to advise the government to insist on a greater knowledge of the Islamic world from East Indian officials. In the same year the government sent him to India to study Islamic customs and societies, Islamic teaching and laws. He was active in Java and Sumatra, especially in Atchin. In 1892-94 he published a work in three volumes on the last-named country, thus contributing very much to a better understanding and indirectly to the pacification of this region. He also used this opportunity to study the language of the Atchinese on which he published various articles.

His knowledge of the Mohammedan world, so important in India, was of great value to the Dutch government in the regulation of judicial questions concerning divorced Mohammedan women and the position of illegitimate children of Mohammedan women in the Dutch colonies.

He was so devoted to his work in the Indies that he could not decide to accept a chair offered to him in that period by the universities of Leyden and Cambridge.

Apart from the books mentioned above he published a biography of Mohammed in the 'Revue de l'Histoire des Nations' (T. 30), and various articles on Islamic Laws, e.g., in the same Revue (T. 37) and elsewhere, and numerous bibliographic references mostly in Dutch journals.

After having worked nearly twenty years in the colonies he accepted a chair at Leyden from which he retired in 1927 at the age of 70 years, remaining active till his death. All who met him in their career were impressed by his genuine interest in their problems and difficulties and in Mr. Kramers, lecturer of Turkish and Persian languages at Leyden, rightly applied to him the words of the Persian



destined to keep official positions in India, was very great and beneficial, his advice to the government highly appreciated.

After his thesis on the Madjdj (1880) Snouck Hurgronje was appointed to teach the religious customs of the Islam at the school for East Indian officials at Leyden. In 1885 he visited Mekka, as



poet: "Do not look for us after our death to our tomb but look to the hearts of those who know and love."

All his works up to 1927 are republished by Brill, Leyden (6 vols.).

C. U. ARIENS KAPPERS.

## REVIEWS.

### ASIA.

#### Sons of Ishmael: A Study of the Egyptian Bedouin.

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By G. W. Murray. London (Routledge), 1935. 8vo. xiv + 344 pp., 31 pls., 10 illustrations and 4 maps. Price 18s.

The estimation in which the Bedouin is held in Arab countries resembles that of the Scottish highlanders of the eighteenth century in the eyes of his lowland countrymen; the romantic who sang that his heart was in the highlands, experienced a more realistic mood during a visit to Inveraray, where he found 'naething but Highland pride, and Highland scab and hunger!' So the free son of the desert is much admired as a figure of romance and chivalry, yet more often derided for his uncouth manners and the squalor of his life, as well as dreaded on account of his predatory habits. The Arab maiden, in a poem much praised by townsmen, would rather share a tent exposed to all the winds with the Bedouin lad, the son of her uncle, than dwell in the Caliph's palace as the wife of a well-fed barbarian; but there is a Sudanese proverb: *ḡamal al-ḡash wa lā shaykh al-'Arab*, which implies that poverty with a clean, respectable townsman is preferable to marriage to a rich, but uncouth nomad shaykh; and although Meccan sherifs send their young sons to the desert to be brought up in the 'houses of hair,' the nurseries of Lebanon know the Bedawi only as a bogeyman with whom mothers frighten their unruly children.

The truth of the matter is that there is a vast difference between the tribes of stable and well-knit social organization based on nomad economics, which form the aristocracy of the desert, and the tribal debris of stragglers who live on the outskirts of civilization, and who retain little of the traditional virtues of the Bedouin but all his inordinate pride and his contempt for fellāḥin and townsmen. Throughout history nomads have poured into the settled lands as raiders and conquerors, and the desert has retained only those who have rejected material civilization with conscious disdain, and those who have been too lazy or too incompetent to change their mode of life.

A paradox of the Bedouin is admirably expressed in a passage quoted from Sir Mark Sykes which heads one of Mr. Murray's chapters:

"The Bedawi is, indeed, the strangest of all mankind. His material civilization is about on a par with that of a bushman, yet his brain is as elaborately and subtly developed as that of any Englishman with a liberal education. There is no reasonable argument he cannot follow, no situation which he cannot immediately grasp, no man whom he cannot comprehend; yet there is no manual act he can perform."

In this connection the present writer would hazard the suggestion that the contact of the nomad Arab with the complex civilization of Islam, both in the matter of religion and of influences indirectly derived from literary sources, is not as slight as some writers appear to believe. The modern poetry of Najd and the Syrian desert, though composed in the spoken dialect, is unthinkable without the background of Arabic literature; and although the tribesmen are described as utterly ignorant of the Moslem religion and perfunctory in their observances, it must not be forgotten that Wahhābī Najd produces divines who are profoundly learned in theology, and that their preaching to the Bedouins does not fall on barren soil. Surely the ignorance and indifference of the masses if, indeed, they are as marked as our authorities declare, should not blind us to the existence of cultural forces, which are of no mean social importance, even if their immediate influence is confined to the leaders of the community.

The Bedouins of Egypt show nomad society in various stages of disintegration; they include large numbers of fellāḥin who are Bedouins only by descent and for the purpose of claiming exemption from military service, and the name is borne by such pitiful specimens as the Arabs of Gizeh who prey on tourists visiting the pyramids. The tribes of the Libyan desert retain much of Bedouin custom and tradition, but they cultivate barley and are beginning to build houses and to clear out cisterns; so civilized have they grown that Mr. Murray's guides, one a Sinai Arab and the other an 'Abbādi, concurred in calling them 'green'—not real desert-worthy Bedouins. Nomad tradition and social structure survive with greater vigour amongst the tribesmen of Sinai, whom nothing but a political frontier separates from their cousins of Arabia and the Syrian desert, and amongst the Hamitic 'Ababda and Bisharin, who are of the Sudan rather than of Egypt.

Mr. Murray's book contains the fruits of observation and study garnered during a quarter of a century spent in the charting of the desert and the 'survey of mankind from Suakin to Baalbek,' and though the field has been well worked over by his predecessors, it will rank as a serious contribution to our knowledge. The historical background is treated in two well-documented chapters, and the concluding section gives a kind of historical gazetteer of the various tribes, while the bulk of the volume consists of a descriptive account of the social organization, the daily life, the beliefs and customs, and the traditional law of the Bedouins; in this section due regard is paid to local and tribal



differences, which indeed are as considerable as might be expected in view of the fact that the tribes under review comprise 'pure' Arabs as well as arabicized Berbers and Beja and, in the case of the Bisharin, a purely Hamitic tribe which has been but little affected by Arab and Islamic influences. A full index and admirable illustrations enhance the usefulness of the volume.

In the vexatious matter of the spelling of Arabic words and proper names the author steers a middle course between the petulant lawlessness of T. E. Lawrence and the meticulous accuracy of Semitic scholars. Though the t's and d's and s's and h's peculiar to Arabic are left undotted, the consonant 'ayn is always indicated, but the absence of a sign marking the length of vowels is sometimes inconvenient. Inaccuracies occur in the case of doubled consonants; thus the singular of 'Ababda should be 'Abbādī, and the functionary presiding over the ordeal of the white-hot spoon *mubashshi* rather than *mubasha*; the spelling Sala for Šālīh is startling in the case of a writer evidently well-equipped in Arabic.

S. HILLELSON.

**The Vaishnavas of Gujarat. A Study in Methods of Investigation of Social Phenomena.** By N. A. Thoothi, B.A. (Bombay), Ph.D. (Oxon), University Reader in Sociology, Bombay. Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1935. 489 pp. Price £1 5s.

This treatise is an expansion of a thesis which won for the writer the degree of Ph.D. at Oxford. It consists of two distinct parts, an account of the Vaishnava sect of Gujarat from the religious, social and economic aspects, and a short but practical essay on method as applied to anthropological research, with special reference to its application to Indian conditions. Gujarat affords a particularly interesting and fruitful field for a survey of this kind. Its fertile soil and its proximity to the sea have attracted immigrants to its shores from many quarters, Gurjaras, Mohammodans, Parsees, Marathas and Europeans. The result is a great variety of races, customs and religions. Dr. Thoothi states that his object is to study, with reference to a definite region—(1) The action of environment on man, and the reaction of man to his environment. (2) The action of history, tradition and religious struggles on man in this given environment. (3) The action of contacts with other peoples, cultures and civilizations. (4) The action of economic forces on the life of the people and the region.

In the section devoted to religion the author traces the evolution of Vaishnavism from the Vedic hymns, and shows how Hinduism of to-day was gradually developed after the overthrow of Buddhism. Dr. Thoothi's account of the various Vaishnava sects in Gujarat, their ritual and other observances, is particularly attractive, being based upon personal observation. He rightly emphasizes the importance of the conception of *dharma* as the basis of Hindu ethics, and contributes an illuminating chapter to the analysis of *dharma* in its various aspects. Turning to social organizations, Dr. Thoothi treats at some length the various castes and sub-castes, and gives an extremely learned exposition of the complicated subjects of *gotra* and *kula*. He tells an amusing anecdote of his own experiences as a schoolboy. Being a Parsee, he was puzzled by the fact that there were over thirty different water-pots for one hundred and fifty boys. He asked

one of his schoolmates the reason. "Oh, that's because 'our *gnyatis* are different," was the reply. Dr. Thoothi even then made up his mind to find out the meaning of this mysterious force which exercised so dominating an influence over the lives of his companions. Perhaps the most valuable chapters in the book are those dealing with social and economic conditions in Gujarat. Dr. Thoothi paints a vivid picture of village life; he tells us what the peasant eats and wears, how he spends his day, what crops he sows and how he markets them. His account of the trade-guilds and their working is particularly interesting. He adds a number of practical suggestions on rescuing this 'land of milk and honey' from the trough of economic depression into which it has fallen. The latter part of the book is devoted to contemporary Gujarathi literature and art. Modern Gujarathi literature is in a particularly flourishing condition and is full of possibilities for the future. Dr. Thoothi's account of the curious *garbha* or folk-dance, so popular in Gujarat, will be warmly welcomed by sociologists. This work is a notable addition to the excellent series of monographs being turned out by the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology. It is to be hoped that it will be followed by regional surveys of other communities of the Bombay Presidency. A novel feature is the case of maps, printed on transparent paper, so that two or more may be superimposed.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

**The Brāhūi Problem. Part III. Etymological Vocabulary.** By Sir Denys Bray. Delhi. 313 pp. Price Rs. 7.14 (13s. 6d.).

Everyone who has read Sir Denys Bray's delightful *Life History of a Brahui* will welcome his return from the toils of the Secretariat and the lure of Shakespeare's sonnets to his old love. His introduction is as sparkling as ever. Sir Denys has several windmills to tilt at. There is the unfortunate writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* who states that Herodotus assigns the ancient Dravidians to the Makran, whereas neither the people nor the place were even known to the Father of History! There are the anthropologists, who make great play with the fact that the Brahuis are round-headed folk, in blissful ignorance of the fact that Brahui mothers carefully mould their babies' heads directly after birth! These strange, nomadic folk have long been an enigma. Who are they, and whence do they come? There is no doubt that their speech is Dravidian in origin, though the vocabulary is overlaid with Persian, Balochi, Sindhi and even English. It is especially interesting to notice that it links up with other isolated islands of Dravidian speech—Gondi, Kui, Kurukh and Malto—in Northern and Central India. But this does not throw any light upon their origin as a race. Language is no criterion of race, and whoever the Brahuis may be, they are not Dravidians. Sir Denys Bray can offer no answer: he thinks, perhaps, that the key may be found on that momentous day when the Mohenjo-daro pictographs yield up their secret. As Sir Aurel Stein suggests, the Brahuis may be the last survivors, if not of the Indus valley folk, at least of the semi-barbarous tribes on their fringe, their poor relations, so to speak. The urgent necessity of the work done by Sir Denys Bray is shown when we remember that the Brahuis are a small body of people; their language is unwritten, and is in danger of being swamped and gradually dying out. The main part of this book is an extensive vocabulary which, besides its linguistic value, will be of much practical use to the frontier officer, as idioms, proverbs and characteristic expressions are quoted in illustration.

H. G. RAWLINSON.



## ARCHAEOLOGY.

**Mesopotamia: Excavations on Sumerian Sites.**

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By Seton Lloyd. London, 1936. xiv + 198 pp., xvi plates. Price 6s.

Ten years of intensive digging have rendered obsolete all the extant accounts of Mesopotamian civilization, at least in so far as they deal with the prehistoric and Early Dynastic periods. Mr. Lloyd's concise and competent account therefore fills very satisfactorily a real need and should be assured a wide sale. The first chapter surveys the geographical background and sketches the history of excavations, contrasting in a lively, instructive and sympathetic manner the conditions under which Layard and Botta had to work with those ruling to-day and also comparing the aims and methods of contemporary schools of Mesopotamian excavators. The second chapter describes some Sumerian sites, especially Ur, Erech, Kish, Eshnunna and Akshak and introduces the reader to the principal prehistoric periods. The latter are more fully described in Ch. III, which also glances at relevant results in Assyria and Elam. Chapter IV is devoted to the architecture, burial rites, and crafts of the Early Dynastic period while Ch. V traces the development of architecture and art in the Sargonid period and later. A folding plate gives in graphic form the cultural sequence established by excavations in Sumer, Akkad and Assyria as interpreted by Dr. Frankfort; there are also plans of several early temples, and of the Akkadian palace at Eshnunna, together with a folder giving a reconstruction of public buildings contemporary with Dynasty III of Ur. The plates give a representative selection of statuary, architectural reconstructions, pottery, seals and jewellery. In choosing his material, the author has successfully avoided reproduction of hackneyed subjects: he is to be especially congratulated on selecting the little-known Akkadian head from Nineveh, recovered by Dr. Campbell Thompson, but now in the Baghdad Museum. Mr. Lloyd is himself an excavator, a fact which lends vividness as well as authority to his account. Naturally he tends to place in the foreground both of the text and of the plates the results of excavations by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in which he has personally participated. That is no disadvantage, for, not only have the Institute's excavations under Frankfort been models of *Ausgrabungstechnik* and fruitful in important and striking results; they are also less familiar to British readers than the work at sites like Ur and Kish. The reader may, however, be warned that "the deepest layers" at Tepe Gawra, referred to on p. 85, mean the deepest layers yet reached in the systematic dissection of this immense tell, and that pp. 91-2 are still devoted to a description of the archaic Ishtar temple at Ashur.

V. G. C.

**Ancient Rome as revealed by recent Discoveries.**

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By A. W. van Buren. London, Lovat Dickson, 1936. xvi + 200 pp., 8 plates and a map of Rome. Cloth, 8s. net.

This is not a work on anthropology, but on the sister science of archaeology, and is the fifth of a little series intended to give popular but correct accounts of recent

discoveries in various countries. Its author's name is warrant enough that the facts are accurate and fresh. He confines himself to what has been done in the last decade, assuming interest and some little elementary knowledge on the reader's part. In consequence, he does not produce a guide-book, still less a cram-book, but a sort of new *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, well calculated to whet the curiosity of those who consult it and make them anxious to learn more, preferably on the spot. The twenty-two short chapters deal, in order, with the site itself and some discoveries in the subsoil (a prehistoric elephant and a Neanderthal woman), various architectural and structural features of the City (special attention being paid to the Imperial fora), some of the recent inscriptional discoveries and finds of one sort or another illustrating cult, daily life and so forth, a number of miscellaneous items, and finally the museums and the 'evaluation of the discoveries.'

All this is excellent, as a collection of samples, and it evidently is meant to be no more; references in the notes lead the inquirer to larger books and more technical articles. A weak point is the occasionally bad style; the worst offence is on p. 139, where, wishing to say that the Romans tended to save ground-space by building high, the author commits the sin of writing "the urge" to verticality which resulted from the increase in "population." On p. 25, the ceremonial of the *pomerium* is called an instance of folk-memory; it is of course nothing of the sort.

H. J. ROSE.

**Megalithes du Haut-Laos** By Madeleine Colani.

(Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, vols. xxv, xxvi.) Paris, 1935. 2 vols (28 x 18 cms.). Vol. I, 271 pp., 69 plates;

Vol. II, 358 pp., 35 plates.

In these well-planned volumes Mlle. Colani sets forth the results of her investigations of two important groups of megaliths in Haut-Laos, east of the great bends of the Mekong (French Indo-China). They are not only minutely examined by the skilled excavator and experienced field worker the writer has proved herself to be, but also analyzed in a scholarly way in relation to past environmental conditions, to similar cultures elsewhere in the Far East and to ethnographic survivals in the area. The Hua-Pan menhirs and discoidal monoliths are associated with funerary pits and yield a poor Bronze culture. In Tran-Ninh are found megalithic 'jars,' sometimes in groups of hundreds, betraying the existence of sedentary cultivators and of extensive trade relations which Dr. Colani suggests, dutifully quoting Déchelette for parallel evidence from ancient Europe, were encouraged by the desire for salt. Round-bottomed pots, bronze rings, tanged iron knives, glass beads and occasional polished stone axes constitute the usual furniture: some of the beads are thought to be copies of Roman types and may date the culture. A remarkable feature of these volumes is the wealth of illustrations of all kinds. One experiences a feeling of shame on comparing this notable production with the available literature on the megalithic cultures of parts of Europe.

E. E. EVANS.

## AFRICA.

**Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythos der Afrikanischen Völker.** By Hermann

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Baumann. Berlin, Reimer, 1936. iv + 435 pp. Paper.

This is a book of considerable importance, the more so because, as the author informs us (p. 193) he follows a plan of work which "aprioristische Deutungen

"grundsätzlich ausschliesst," and has collected his material from a large number of good first-hand observers (his preface explains that illness has made his reading incomplete for all dates after 1932; this explains why he seems, for instance, to be unacquainted with Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*, 1934). Being human, he cannot produce a book of this size without



some reflection of his own views, however, and these are of the Graebner-Schmidt school, though he is no extremist. Therefore, the reader who happens to be of another way of thinking will make allowance for this bias by being a little doubtful of the existence of the *Kulturkreise* to which various phenomena are from time to time referred, or of the propriety of considering the high gods of the pigmy and other peoples to be genuine remnants of a very primitive stage of belief. Such allowances, if felt to be necessary, are easily made, and also those arising from the doubt which most of Andrew Lang's countrymen will feel about a number of solar and other astral interpretations of myths; to the reviewer, most of them are no whit better than those of Max Müller and his disciples, though it is of course the case that some African stories deal explicitly with the doings of sun, moon and stars, while these luminaries seem here and there to have a certain amount of real cult. In passing, the reviewer would associate himself with Baumann's protest (p. 215) against those who attribute "unlautere Forschungsmotive" to Father Schmidt.

The plan of the work is simple and good. Baumann begins with an account of African creators, taking them in order from south to north of the continent. As he has already greatly condensed the available accounts of these interesting figures, it would serve no purpose to epitomize his epitome here; it is enough to note that, taking the facts to be correct (he is most scrupulous in giving precise references to the items in his large bibliography, which fills pp. 398-407 with its 335 titles), and allowing for occasional errors of interpretation or inaccuracies in his informants (whom, however, he subjects to criticism whenever reasonably possible), we have here, perhaps for the first time, a conspectus of the subject which can make some claim to both accuracy and completeness. The author's own modesty disarms many criticisms of details in advance; he describes his book in the first sentence of the preface as "nur ein 'erstes Beginnen und wie ein solches immer lückenhaft' und nicht fehlerlos."

The general conclusion is that African creators are of no one type, although several, as the sky-god, otiose or otherwise, the semi-divine ancestor, and the supernatural or other being who does not precisely create but evokes men and beasts from an underground abode, show a more or less decided tendency to attach themselves to the traditions of particular peoples and regions. Towards the north and north-east, traces of non-African influence are pretty evident, Egypt being an important but not the only probable source. The next section handles the traditions concerning the state of man and his environment in the beginning, and the methods by which the creator, divine or not, performed his task.

Next comes an account of a very important group of myths, if we may so call what are in many cases crude, but by no means absurd speculations, early and imperfect scientific theories, concerning the origins of culture. A short and closely-packed section on theoretical results concludes the text; the bibliography, already mentioned, is followed by an extensive index.

Here, then, is a sort of African Genesis from the reduction of a very modern Yahwist. Comment on the text will doubtless follow from Africanists of many nations, for the book deserves it. By way of indicating one of the many things to be learned, the reviewer records his own strengthened conviction that Africa, as we know it, is not the place to look for anything primitive, so far as customs and beliefs are concerned; its material remains, skeletal especially, are a different matter. That there are peoples there who preserve

remnants of very early modes of living no one doubts; it is very doubtful whether any group, large or small, has preserved its own culture in anything like purity for any considerable time. Baumann himself rightly notes "die ungeheure Assimilationsfähigkeit des Negers" (p. 315), and scattered up and down the book are very numerous examples of myths which have obviously passed from one people to another, or been imported from outside Africa altogether; if an example may be added, the story of birth from the knee of some prehistoric being (p. 221) is of a group which spreads from Greece through Phrygia and Thrace (Dionysos born from the thigh of Zeus, with the typical Hellenic quasi-rationalizing showing itself in the choice of a more fleshy part of the body and the added story of how the half-formed child got there in the first place) through Asia to America (Isis reborn from the knee of Kumush, in the Modoc tradition). J. Curtin, *Myths of the Modocs* (London, 1912), (p. 6). Is it therefore likely that such things as speculations concerning the nature and activities of gods should remain static? They are not, like ritual, of the essence of religion, or of magic, and the parallel of the continual borrowings of ideas between non-African cultures, notably the classical ones of Europe, suggests itself. Hence the fact, for instance, that we find to-day 'high gods of low races' in Africa proves nothing at all for primitive belief; we find also myths concerning the origin of the modern European, datable as being but a few centuries old. But the field is vast, the methods of analysis doubtfully reliable, witness the wealth of conflicting etymologies especially, and finally, if attainable, very far off. Honest *Sammelarbeit* like that of Baumann will advance our knowledge.

H. J. ROSE.

Lunda. By Hermann Baumann. Würfel Verlag Berlin, 1935. 249 pp., 92 plates, numerous illustrations in the text, and 1 map.

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Twice in comparatively recent times, in 1913 and 1930, the Berliner Völkerkundemuseum has sent out expeditions to Angola to study peoples and cultures there—then almost virgin soil for anthropological investigation. The second expedition forms the subject of the present monograph. It was devoted more particularly to the study of the Tsokwe, a powerful tribe in the centre of Angola which, some hundred years ago, had conquered the ancient kingdom of Lunda, and managed to impress, in this short period, the stamp of its own culture and language on a vast area. The primary aim of the expedition was collection and description of the material culture of the Tsokwe and their neighbours. But the study of their social structure and their spiritual culture formed, nevertheless, an integral part of Dr. Baumann's detailed and conscientious researches. A far-reaching analysis of the culture from the standpoint of the German *Kulturkreislehre* which one would expect from the author, is cautiously worded, and banished into two pages of the Foreword; yet lines of cultural connections on a smaller scale, based on all the available literature on the areas concerned, are implied and suggested frequently in the course of the book. The clear and systematic arrangement of the rich material presented in this book makes it from the outset very easy and profitable reading. The first chapter deals with the material culture, the second with social organization, and the third, final, chapter with religion, beliefs, art, etc. A short appendix contains medical observations collected by a doctor well acquainted with the area—indeed, a most valuable innovation. One could argue, of course, whether the items 'villages' and 'settlements' are really quite of the same order as technological details, for instance, of house furniture, with which they are lumped together



in the same chapter; or whether hunting and fishing, trade and traffic, really belong exclusively to the chapter on 'Material Culture.' Yet the difficult problem of correlating these various aspects of anthropological investigation is solved satisfactorily enough by means of short references to the sociological implications preceding, and occasionally cutting across, the technological description. Most valuable is another feature in the author's technic of presentation, namely, the reference to illuminating facts of culture change. We learn of the recent introduction, and abortive effect, of a high bride-price in a certain area (p. 122), or of the interesting interplay of old traditional authority and present-day lack of actual power of kings and chiefs (p. 139). In the analysis of the Tsokwe system of beliefs the paramount importance of the '*wanga*,' a *mama*-like concept (interpreted by Dr. Baumann as '*Zauberkraft*,' 'magical power'), is perhaps the most interesting feature (pp. 161 seq.). In this connection one only regrets that the correlation between political power and the alleged possession of *wanga* which is referred to in short (p. 144), and which appears to be of eminent importance for the understanding of the political structure, is not worked out more fully. The chapter on social structure presents, as the author modestly admits, only a preliminary and incomplete analysis, subject to correction. But it is not so much this preliminary character which one would like to comment on, but rather the intended limitation to mere descriptive data without trying to work out any deeper reaching sociological correlation. Often enough the material almost demands such correlations. Yet the very complete list of kinship terms, for instance (p. 127), which is full of most interesting and intriguing features, is placed side by side with the description of family organization, marriage rules, inheritance, etc., without attempting to link the two in any way which would do justice to the obvious sociological implications. This is, in fact, the only criticism I should venture to launch against this excellent descriptive work the rich contents of which are aptly illustrated by the large number of most interesting photographs and sketches.

S. F. NADEL.

**Africa Dances.** By Geoffrey Gorer. Faber and Faber, London, 1935. xv + 363 pp., 32 illustrations, 5 itineraries.

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This is a difficult book to review. It calls itself 'Africa dances,' but it deals with everything under the moon—except dance; that is to say, out of 354 pages, 24 deal with dance proper. It calls itself a globetrotter's account of a motor trip through West Africa, undertaken in the company of a native of Dakar who, living in Paris as a dancer, wanted to bring a 'black ballet' back to Europe; but the map at the beginning of the book rather liberally marks the whole of West Africa as the 'approximate area travelled over.' The author stresses the amateurish character of the whole enterprise; "I knew nothing whatsoever about West Africa, beyond the fact that the English Colonies were 'habitually referred to as white man's graves,'" p. 5; but he gives in the end very definite views about all kinds of problems, in fact, about everything that can

somehow be linked with that vast problem Africa, about fetish (above all, fetish!), Colonial Administration, European spiritualism, the connection of ancient Greece and Negro Africa, and what not. The author certainly states these theories and views in a disarmingly charming, manner. The book is very amusing reading indeed. People who care for this sort of thing, and perhaps even those who don't care for it so very much, will enjoy it. I did. But I hope I shall not be considered a terrible philistine, or a hopelessly prosaic theoretician, if I call such a book dangerous. The more dangerous the more amusing it is. Its amusing stories and its thrilling descriptions propound and revive all those superficial truths, all those cheap popular theories on Africa and the African, which prosaic, but more conscientious, anthropology has tried so hard to correct and to replace. Its lofty neglect of all the relevant literature, the grand gestures of its sweeping statements, make painstaking scientific anthropology look foolish. How easy is it, for instance, to ridicule a whole Colonial Administration (the French Administration in West Africa in particular) by quoting a few nice episodes without presenting in full detail the material on which the condemning conclusions are based. Or how easy to paint what looks an eminently logical and comprehensive picture of the magic-ridden world of the negro, full of 'Fetish' and 'Fetishers,' when everything is seen, immensely simplified from the bird's-eye view which such a cross-country trip, implies. Incidentally, what Mr. Gorer describes under the heading of Fetish, and the rites and the organization linked with Fetish, seems to refer as far as I can make out to a typical totemic clan organization. But then, the dry aspect of social organization has no place in Mr. Gorer's description, and 'clan organization' certainly sounds much less attractive than 'Fetish' and 'The Fetishist's Convents.' Yet all the same, nobody can dispute Mr. Gorer's real gift of observation, and even clear insight into theoretical problems; one only needs read his description of a sacrifice ceremony (pp. 214 seq.), or his outline of Dahomey religion (pp. 184-186). Nor can one overlook the sincere sympathy with the native races which this book expresses. But then, sympathy without knowledge is of little help. The book ends with the romantic, melancholic, and rather naïve, prophesy of the African negro "following the Red Indian as the 'vanishing race.'" And what Mr. Gorer really knows of the Africans bears the stamp of the same vague, romantic knowledge this prophesy betrays. To him the mind of the negro is still that magic-infested, 'pre-logical' (only Mr. Gorer does not use this term), primitive mind which refuses to acknowledge a "material and causal world" (p. 235), and which can find no meaning in "material or scientific ideas" (p. 240). Africa is still the Dark Continent, full of mysteries unsolved, of romantic journalism, which you approach in that typical attitude of 'after-all-what-do-we-really-know-about-magic?' And even in his descriptions of West African dance (to return to the at least professed domain of the book) the author is more impressive than illuminating; what, for instance, do you make of this: "The dance was a mixture of 'Breughel and Bedlam, semi erotic, semi ecstatic and 'quite cuckoo'" (p. 169).

S. F. NADEL.

## OCEANIA.

**The Heritage of the 'Bounty.' The Story of Pitcairn through six generations.** By Harry L. Schapiro. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1936. 340 pp., 18 illustrations. \$3.

Pitcairn Island has a two-fold interest—archæological and ethnological. The latter is the more important,

and it is the one discussed in this book. What may be described as the personal chapters give a vivid account of the author's visit to Pitcairn, and makes reference to his earlier visit to the Bounty descendants at Norfolk Island. The historical section gives much the best account that has yet appeared of the events of the



mutiny, the settlement on Pitcairn, community development there, the departure to Tahiti and the return, the departure to Norfolk Island and the return of six families in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties, and of life on the island since. Eighty-six pages are devoted to an interesting and important discussion of cultural developments on the island. In forty pages Dr. Schapiro discusses his anthropometric work and the conclusions that may be drawn from it. These results, together with

the measurements on which they are based, are to be published in a later scientific report. Printing of text and plates is excellent, though exception might perhaps be taken to the heading: 'Pitcairn Diary: 1934-35,' since the actual stay lasted only for ten days. If we leave out of comparison the one first-class novel that has been written about the island, there is no difficulty in ranking this as the most interesting and the most important book about Pitcairn that has been published. H. D. S.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**Nomenclature of Palaeolithic Finds.** (*Cf.* MAN, 1936, 139.)

**196** SIR,—Mr. Burkitt's discussion on the possible over-use of specific European stone age names when applied to foreign cultures is both interesting and valuable. In so far as names like *Clactonian* and *Mousterian* (and *Cromerian*, I regret to say!) are concerned, I am in complete agreement with Mr. Burkitt. But I suggest that where one is dealing with very widespread, real technical specializations such as the faceting of striking platforms, convergent flaking and real tortoise cores, the name *Levalloisian* may very well be used to imply some connection with the European prototype, without the culture having to develop in the same way, necessarily.

Even in the best regulated cultures anomalies sometimes arise that may struggle, flourish, perish or strangle and outlive the parent body. This even happens in such closely contiguous areas as Kenya and Uganda (in the Acheulean, for instance), and one would hesitate to regard these differences as necessarily racial or even cultural: they seem far more likely to be industrial innovations or variations which may be due to quite simple causes. In fact, I submit that it is unlikely that there is always a strict parallelism in the evolution of cultures that are widely-spread, even though their peripheries may overlap.

However that may be, local place names have a habit of becoming cultural designations, and it would be more convenient to retain original names for cultures that are, in their sum of characters, really like the prototype; and then, if necessary, to tack on local or industrial or technical (that is, descriptive) appellations—in other words, *genus—species*. T. P. O'BRIEN.

### Healing Ritual.

**197** SIR,—It may be of interest to note an amusing parallel in modern Egypt to the use of the word 'bacillus' in the Balkans mentioned by Miss Durham in her review of Miss Kemp's book in MAN, 1936, 103.

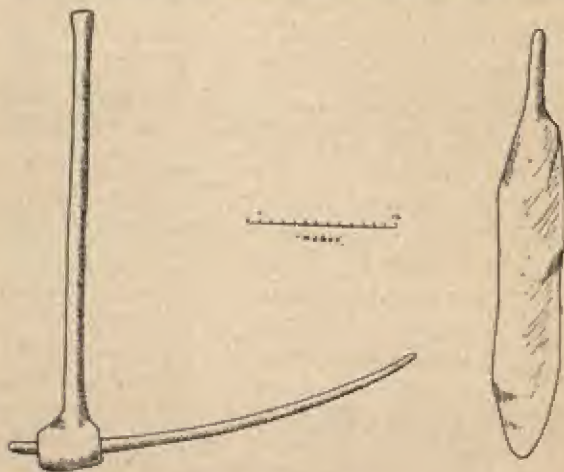
About twenty-five years ago, when microbes were much to the fore in daily and other papers, the word was adopted by the ignorant as a new kind of curse of unknown but terrible powers. A man enraged with another would call him a microbe, generally pronounced as 'makroob,' the *i* (short) being changed to *a* to bring the word into a regular Arabic form. 'Makroob' happens to be a popular term for a person with an overcharged stomach, but that meaning was in no way attached to the curse. G. D. HORNBLOWER.

### A Wooden Hoe from Majita Peninsula, Victoria Nyanza.

**198** SIR,—I enclose a sketch of a wooden hoe from the Majita Peninsula, Victoria Nyanza. These hoes were occasionally used for the cultivation of sweet

potatoes on the sandy shores of the lake as recently as 1928—I am unable to say if they are still in use.

Before the appearance of the trade article iron hoes were imported by the Wa-jita and neighbouring tribes



WOODEN HOE FROM MAJITA PENINSULAR, VICTORIA NYANZA.

from Uzinza but these implements were costly, whereas the wooden hoe cost nothing except the time of the craftsman and is well adapted for use in the sand though it would be useless in any heavier soil.

The blade of the hoe shown in the sketch is very slightly concave on the upper, and convex on the lower side. E. C. BAKER.

### The Scripts of Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Easter Island.

**199** SIR,—Monsieur de Hevesey's article in the *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 30, Nos. 7 & 8 (1933) has naturally aroused considerable interest among the students of Early Pacific Cultures.

It may therefore interest readers to draw attention to an even earlier and possibly forgotten article on this subject, which is helpful in that it substantiates M. de Hevesey's discoveries. Monsieur T. de Lacouperie in his *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia* (London, 1894) has on p. 26 (4) an important note recording the resemblance of the characters on a stone seal from Harappa to those of the Lolo people of Szechuen, and on p. 27 he connects the Lolo writing with that of Acoka in South India and on p. 30 definitely connects the latter with Easter Island script. Cranmore, Kent.

HARRY G. BEASLEY.









FIG. 1. SIDE VIEW.



FIG. 2. INTERIOR VIEW.



FIG. 3. VIEW FROM ABOVE OF THE METHOD OF ATTACHING THE RIBS.



FIG. 4. DETAILS OF THE INTERIOR AT ONE END.

### BOAT OF BOTEL TOBAGO

*Photos by courtesy of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg*



# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Technology.

With Plate L.

Hornell.

**BOAT CONSTRUCTION IN SCANDINAVIA AND OCEANIA; ANOTHER PARALLEL IN BOTEL TOBAGO.** *By James Hornell.*

**200** When I drew attention in *The Constructional Parallels in Scandinavian and Oceanic Boat Construction*<sup>1</sup> to several striking features common to the ancient boats of Scandinavia and certain of those of Indonesia and Oceania, I purposely omitted to make mention of the boats of Botel Tobago, a small island off the southern end of Formosa, although J. W. Davidson<sup>2</sup> had stated that they are "almost an exact counterpart of the craft constructed by the Papuans in the Solomon Islands, both as to form, method of construction and ornamentation." This omission was made because the statement, apparently quite definite, gave no details. It might have been that the author had been concerned with general resemblances and had not taken account of the details of rib attachment, a point which many observers, without technical knowledge of boat construction, might easily overlook.

Thanks to the kindly intervention of Dr. Georg Friederici, I obtained recently photographs of a fine example of this kind of boat now in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde (No. A.4579). These were made by permission of the Director, Professor Franz Termer, who very generously permits me to publish and describe them. I must add that Dr. Friederici personally instructed the photographer as to the special points to be brought out in the views; to him and to Professor Termer I have to express my warm appreciation of their most helpful courtesy.

The photographs show very clearly the main details of construction. They prove that Davidson is fully justified in saying that the Botel Tobago boats are almost identical in construction with the Solomon Islands' *mon* type. There is no longer any possible doubt that the Botel Tobago boat, the *mon*, and the Moluccan *orembai* all belong to the same class of naval design. What differences there are in the first mentioned suggest that it belongs to a more advanced stage of boat-building; it is probable that the greater simplicity or crudity of the design of the *orembai* and the *mon* is due to degradation.

As may be seen from an examination of the photographs (pl. L, figs. 1 and 2) the boat is equal-ended. Each end is sharp and rises in a gracefully abrupt fashion, terminating in an acuminate point. The lines are handsome and clean, with the greatest beam amidships, gradually decreasing towards each end, so that in plan the gunwale lines assume a broadly lanceolate outline.

The ends rise to a height of 1.26 metres measured from the ground, whereas amidships it is only 0.75 metre. The beam is 0.37 metre.

The base of the hull consists of a narrow salient keel, spliced by means of a lock joint at each end to a narrow and curved stem-post. On each side of the keel are three wide strakes (pl. L, fig. 2). The two lower run horizontally and are shorter than the third, which we may term the washstrake.

<sup>1</sup> *The Mariner's Mirror* (Quart. Journ. of the Soc. for Nautical Research), vol. XXI, pp. 411-427, London, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> *The Island of Formosa, past and present*, p. 568.



The terminal sections of the washstrakes form the up-curved end-pieces. Each half end-piece is cut from the solid; its distal margin butts against one side of one of the narrow stem-posts.

The planks are held together initially by means of wooden dowel-pins inserted into opposed edges as in the *orembai* type; no sign of their presence is shown outwardly. As each strake is made up of three lengths or sections butted end to end, care is taken to break the joints; this is clearly seen in plate L, fig. 2.

As in the *orembai* the dowel attachment of the planking is reinforced by a system of indirect lashings. When dubbing out the planks, lug-shaped perforated cleats (comb-cleats) are shaped out and left upstanding at predetermined places. In the present boat they consist of three sets. The first of these give attachment to a U-shaped transverse frame, located amidships (pl. L, fig. 3). The second serve to hold in place a triangular bulkhead board near one end (pl. L, fig. 4); the third are used to tie together the converging sides at each end. In addition, a short board, triangular in shape, evidently a seat, rests upon and is lashed to a ledge which projects horizontally from the lower edge of the washstrake in the bows at each end; this lashing is reinforced by a number of wooden pins transfixing board and ledge, clearly seen in plate L, fig. 4. The ledge referred to extends for about three-quarters of the length of the hull on each side from one end; at the other it is quite short. Several large holes perforate the longer ledge at intervals; these probably were for the attachment of paddling thwarts though none is present in the boat as it is.

The sides of the hull are handsomely ornamented (pl. L, fig. 1 and fig. 5). Toward each end panels of double chevrons alternate with others on which highly stylised human figures are painted in sets of three.



FIG. 5. ORNAMENT ON THE BOAT OF BOTEL TOBAGO.

Prominent in the enlarged panel on each bow at each end, is a large circular rose-like disc, formed of three concentric circles of small semi-lunes, white on a black ground. In Fischer's figure given by Heine-Geldern,<sup>3</sup> a large round disc is shown at each end in similar position.

The peculiar construction of this boat of Botel Tobago thus briefly described, proves that the range of the *orembai* and *mon* type of hull construction extends far to the north of the Moluccas and thus helps materially towards bridging the gap in the distribution of rib-cleat attachment signalized in ancient Scandinavia and in present-day Indonesia.

It is a noteworthy detail that the method of lashing the ribs to the hull planking is more nearly related to the Scandinavian type than to that in use either in the *orembai* or the *mon*. Instead of the rattan lashing passing over the rib as in these two types, it is passed through a transverse perforation in the rib itself. The presence of a keel and stem posts is another approximation to the Scandinavian design as seen in the later Viking ships (Gokstad, etc.), and thereby differs from the round-bottomed design of the *orembai* and the *mon*.

The occurrence of large circular discs painted on each side of both ends is a most unusual instance of multiple oculi. It is significant that the only other known instances are found in central Indonesia and on the east coast of Africa where Indonesian maritime influence was powerful in the

<sup>3</sup> 'Urheimat u. früheste Wanderungen der Austronesier,' *Anthropos*, vol. XXVII, pl. XIX, fig. 90, 1932.



distant past. The first of these instances is that seen at Boro Budur in eastern Java, where two of the eighth or ninth century ships sculptured on the walls of the temple show round oculi at each end of the hull—on the bows and the quarters. The other is the presence of oculi in the same duplicated positions on the *mtepe*, one of the two primitive East African vessels which show distinct evidence of Indonesian influence in their design—the other being the double outrigger canoe, the distinctive fishing-craft along the whole coast from Lamu in the north to Mozambique in the south.

In conclusion, it is clear that in constructional details, the Botel Tobago boat possesses important and characteristic features which it shares in common with certain ancient Scandinavian vessels. Either this is an extraordinary instance of convergent development in multiple major features of constructional design, or there has been in the distant past cultural connection or cultural diffusion between northern Europe and the western Pacific whereby these features have been carried half round the world. The time limit in hand is ample for the purpose, for we know that the comb-cleat attachment type of boat design was already in use in Scandinavia at the end of the Bronze Age. We may safely reckon that inserted frames attached to comb-cleats on the hull planking were in use in Scandinavia twenty-five centuries ago.

If a climate milder than the present prevailed then or subsequently along the northern coast of Asia, cultural diffusion by means of coastal (or river?) communication, possibly in short stages, between the Atlantic and the Pacific would encounter no insuperable obstacle to the success of its operation, slow though this would probably be. The three peoples who were distinguished in the past as the most fearless navigators the world has ever seen—the Indonesians, Polynesians and ancient Scandinavians—all agree in the possession of the comb-cleat constructional feature of design. So far as I am aware no other people have ever employed this peculiar device except the Solomon Islanders who borrowed it directly from an Indonesian source at a comparatively recent date. It is a feature foreign to the boat designs of all the great cultures of antiquity, whether of the Nile, Euphrates, Indus or Mediterranean.

**Africa : West.**

**RECONCILIATION CUSTOMS IN THE GOLD COAST.** By G. N. Nunn, *Colonial Administrative Service, Gold Coast.*

Nunn.

**201** Among the Wasaw Fiasis of the Tarkwa District of the Gold Colony I had occasion to be present at a number of meetings between Chiefs and sections of their people who had been for some time opposed to them, at which meetings certain 'customs' were observed in connection with the reconciliation between the parties.

In each case the idea underlying the ceremonial appeared to be the same, namely, the purging of contempt by means of purification of the heart of the malcontent, apology to the wronged party, propitiation of the fetish for rudeness shown to its guardian, the Chief, and renewal of the oath of fealty.

The details of the ceremonial varied slightly from village to village, no doubt in accordance with peculiarities of the particular fetish concerned, but each ceremony was the same in principle and form.

The Chief and those who had remained loyal to him in the dispute seated themselves under a tree, often near the Ahinfié (Chief's residence), opposite the opposing party. The 'Black

'Stools,' revered locally in the same spirit as the Golden Stool of Ashanti, were produced by whichever party to the dispute had had the custody of them during the period of disagreement and were grouped between the parties. The Chief's Linguist then announced the object for which the meeting was being held, namely, the formal act of reconciliation before the face of the fetish, and called upon the opposition to declare whether they had made up their minds to go through with the ceremony. On receiving a favourable reply, he would next call upon the leader of the opposition to produce certain things which would be needed for the purging. These were generally called the 'pacification' and were usually made up of a varying quantity of bottles of 'gin' (geneva), sixteen shillings, a sheep (usually a white sheep) and a sum of money varying from £15 to £60 to be paid to the Chief and his outraged Elders.

These demands were in all cases met by a request to reduce the value of them, which was always done. The main items reduced were the



number of bottles of gin and the sum to be paid to the Chief and Elders. In some cases the latter was deleted altogether after the ceremony, but there was always a sum regarded as payable during the progress of the 'custom.'

The Chief being the guardian of the Stools during his tenure of the position of Chief, dispute with him entails a degree of disrespect to the Stools, wherefore the ceremonies were all intimately connected with them. In all cases a sheep was sacrificed, by having its throat cut with one stroke of a knife, its head being stretched round over one shoulder during the cutting. This sheep was the sacrifice to the Stools and they were smeared with its blood.

Prior to this, however, each of the opposition had been required to seat himself (often on a sheepskin) between the parties, stripped to the waist. Thus seated he was called upon by the Stool carrier (the immediate warden of the Stools) to 'purge his heart' towards the Chief and those with whom he had been at variance. This the man did impromptu, mentioning any particular points which had caused him personally to revolt from authority, apart from the main cause of the dispute, and ending with an assertion that he was now satisfied that he had no cause for continuing in opposition and was sorry for what he had done. At the end of his apology the Stool carrier would speak to the delinquent, briefly summing up the alleged causes of the dispute, appealing to him to keep his heart 'clean' for the future and expressing the readiness of the Chief and the Stools to accept the apology.

The man would then receive 'fetish.' In most cases this was a liquid composed of blood of the slaughtered sheep, which had been poured over the Stools and caught in a basin, a horn or a common tumbler. In one case an egg was broken and smeared over the oldest looking of the Black Stools (a mere fragment of rotten wood, obviously very old) and the penitent was required to lick a quantity of the egg from the Stool. In all cases immediately after receiving the 'fetish'

the recipient was given a sip of gin out of a tumbler, the gin being from that provided by the opposition. This was frankly admitted by one informant to be for the purpose of removing the taste of the fetish, but was more usually said to be the final seal of forgiveness.

During the drinking of the 'fetish' the drinker's head was, in most places, anointed with a quantity of the fetish liquid, usually a small drop being placed on the very crown of the head. The container of the fetish from which it was drunk was usually a goat's horn and this was passed from the nose over the head and down the spine to the small of the back before the recipient was allowed to go. This part of the ceremony generally caused smiles among the onlookers, probably by reason of the fact that most men wriggled and smiled as the horn passed down the spine and tickled.

'Fetish' was not drunk by those professing Christianity, who were allowed to hold a Bible or a Rosary before them while making their apology, ending by kissing it. In one case an African Catechist administered the oath to members of his Church.

In one or two cases the Ahinfe had been desecrated by the fact that unauthorised persons, members of the opposition to the Chief, had entered it without his permission and looted it. In these cases a second sheep was slaughtered, by the same means and in the same manner, but in the central courtyard of the Ahinfe (in one instance on the floor in the doorway leading to the courtyard). The blood was allowed to flow into a clot on the spot where the sacrifice was made. The carcass was taken away but the blood left to dry in the sun.

Many of the ceremonies appeared to be carried out in a somewhat amateurish manner, as though the participants were not really aware of the procedure to be followed and a great deal of delay was sometimes occasioned, during which arguments arose as to the next step.

China.

**AN ARCHAIC FORM OF CHESS GAME IN CHINESE PEASANT EMBROIDERY.** *Schuster.*  
*Illustrated.* *By Carl Schuster.*

**202** The accompanying drawing, Fig. 1, represents a design on a cotton bed valance from the village of Ch'ing Yang I, in the upper Han Valley in south-western Shensi province, China.

The writer has been engaged for several seasons in collecting specimens of cross-stitch embroidery on cotton cloth from the rural districts of western China, and found examples of this motive, with



very slight variations, in the provinces of Shensi, Szech'uan and Yunnan, so that there is no doubt of its being widespread and firmly established in tradition throughout the interior provinces. The design repertoire of this class of work has an amazing variety and extent, containing a number of motives quite unknown in the rest of Chinese art, and belonging rather, as it seems to the writer, to a primitive or primordial strain of tradition with frequent evidence of relationships outside of China.

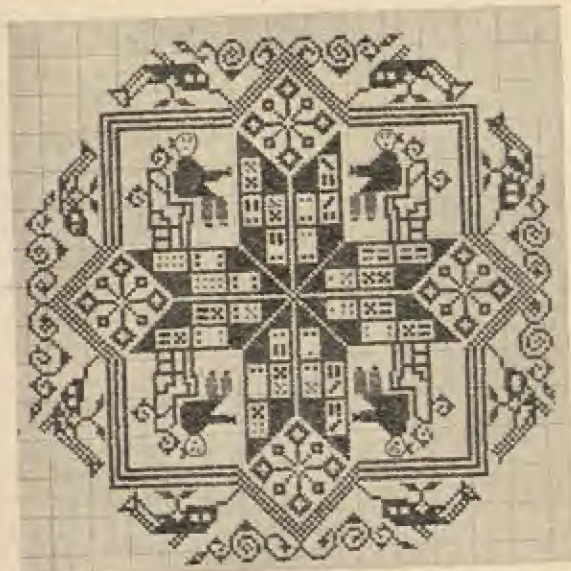


FIG. 1. EMBROIDERED DESIGN FROM SHENSI PROVINCE, CHINA.

In publishing this design it may not be out of place to call attention to one or two non-Chinese analogues.

In the centre of the design is a large eight-petalled geometric flower of the type popularly called 'chrysanthemum'. On each petal in white reserve are four Chinese dominoes with blue (dark) and pink (light) crosses for the numbers. In each of the four angles between the rhomboid petals of this flower is a female figure seated on a chair, with lips and hair ribbons embroidered in rose-coloured thread. They wear trousers embroidered in a different coloured thread for each figure, which we will speak of in a moment. The small shoes on their bound feet are indicated in thread of contrasting colours. The central flower and the four seated figures are all surrounded by a frame of three lines in the shape of an eight-pointed star, so as to enclose each

seated figure in an open square in the corner. The frame rises to four smaller points over each pair of petals, forming four smaller diagonal squares, each of which contains a starlike device with four major and four minor lobes. From the tops of these smaller points in the frame a scroll-work extends to right and left over a pair of fish attached by lines to the frame at the base of the point. Each of these fish has square eyes and a sprig-like fin attached to its under-body.

From the people themselves, in spite of the best will in the world, I could get no further explanation than the obvious one, that these are domino (骨牌 *ku<sup>3</sup> p'ai<sup>2</sup>*) players. In all likelihood that is all the information it will ever be possible to get from the people themselves. There is, however, one curious feature of the design which gives us a clue to its deeper significance. All of these western Chinese designs are executed in indigo-dyed blue thread on white cotton cloth; the occurrence of polychromy is extremely rare, and if it occurs at all it is generally confined to an occasional bit of pink silk thread to emphasize details like human lips or the beaks of birds. But in this design by exception we are suddenly treated to a display of four different colours, applied to the trousers worn by the four seated figures. The distribution of colours (I have indicated coloured portions of the design by means of light crosses) on the trousers is as follows: upper left, violet; lower left, green; upper right, pale blue; lower right, rose. The fact that colour is introduced in this way in the four corners of the design at once suggests a reminiscence of the cosmic colours of the four cardinal directions. The fact that the four colours do not correspond to those fixed in Chinese literary tradition is not surprising in a folk art where motives are apt to survive the memory of their significance: all that has survived here, apparently, is the tradition that it is proper to apply various colours to the trousers of these four 'domino players,' even though colour is never elsewhere used in such quantities.

It does not require a great stretch of the imagination to see that we have here the representation of what was originally a cosmic game. How neatly our design conforms to this conception can be seen most readily if I quote, in translation, some passages from Ferdinand Bork, *Die Geschichte des Weltbildes* (Bd. III, Heft 2/5 in the series 'Ex Oriente Lux,' Leipzig, 1930),



which read like a description of the design, or to which the design appears in many respects as an appropriate illustration.

Bork, p. 134:—"Our occidental game (of chess) has become a mere game of skill; it has lost all traces of the earlier stages of its development, whereas the Asiatic forms have retained a number of archaic traits. We owe our knowledge of the Asiatic forms to Hiram Cox, among others, who, in *Asiatic Researches* VII, p. 480ff., published an essay 'On the Burmah Game of Chess, compared with the Indian, Chinese, and Persian Game of the Same Denomination,' and to William Jones ('On the Indian Game of Chess,' *Asiatic Researches* II., p. 159ff.) The latter acquaints us with the ancient form. In the *Bhavischja Purâna*, King Judhischira gives the following directions: "Divide the board on each side into eight rows of squares. Then set up the red army in the east, the green army in the south, the yellow army in the west and the black army in the north . . . but the boat must be placed in the corner of the field."

The connection of colours with the corners shows that we are dealing with an ancient game of planets and the cosmos. These are the Babylonian planetary colours in the alignment to which we find the closest analogy among the Dakota in North America (cf. J. O. Dorsey, *A Study of Siouan Cults*, 11th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1894, section 378, p. 529):

Dakota god	Element	Cosmic Quarter	Colour : Chess game.
Wakintjan	Fire	East	red : red
Takuschkan-	Wind	South	black : green (= blue)
Ungtechi [schkan	Water	West	yellow : yellow
Tunkan	Earth	North	blue : black

(p. 135) "The association of the corners of the cosmos with gods, elements, colours, etc., is only a variation of a similar feature of the cosmic pictures of the old world (cf. Mitra, I., column 219ff.).

"We still occasionally call the cardinal points 'corners of the earth,' as which they were conceived by the Sumerians. In any case, as Ménéant has pointed out in his work on Babylonia and Chaldea (*Babel und Sumerien*) the Sumerian temples were orientated towards the corners and not with the sides, as we should do. "If the four-sided chess game of the *Bhavischja Purâna* is a planetary game, then the chessboard

is a cosmogram. The outer worlds are assigned to the four corners, and are surrounded by oceans. It is precisely this cosmogram whose acquaintance we made in India, even if not in the shape of an up-ended square. The boat which appears in the Indian four-chess instead of a tower is old and original. It is not four armies which here do battle, but the four worlds, separated by broad oceans, and distinguished by their four colours: they can only join combat by boat."

According to Bork, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 143, the idea of a central river or sea persists in certain analogous American Indian games. Our Fig. 2 (from Theodor-Wilhelm Danzel, *Mexiko I., Bildteil, Altmexikanische Bilderschriften*, 2. Aufl., Folkwang-Hagen, 1922, pl. 9) shows the



FIG. 2. THE MEXICAN GAME OF PATOLLI.

four-sided Mexican game of *patolli* as depicted on a post-Columbian manuscript, the work of a Mexican artist of the second half of the 16th century. The four-sided East Indian game of *pachisi* should also no doubt be drawn into consideration in this connection.

As for our Chinese design, several things become clear in the light of the Indian analogue (or prototype?) discussed by Bork, namely, the situation of the four players in the corners, and the presence of the eight fish on the periphery which are undoubtedly denizens of the cosmic ocean. In this closely integrated design it is likely that little is due to chance and that all details equally have their origin in significant symbolism; thus one is tempted to see in the points of the framework between each pair of fishes a cardinal mountain, which generally appears in such cosmologies (thus for example Frank



Hamilton Cushing, *Zuñi Fetiches*, 2nd Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Ethn., p. 17: "In the centre of the great sea of each of these regions stood a very ancient sacred place . . . , a great mountain peak. In the north was the Mountain Yellow, in the west the Mountain Blue, in the south the Mountain Red, in the east the Mountain White, above the Mountain All-colour, and below the Mountain Black." We might also see in the scrollwork growing from the top of each 'peak' in our design a sort of cosmic tree or herb, equivalent to the soma and haoma of Indian and Iranian tradition, of which the fish would then be the appropriate guardians, moored at the base of the mountain. The four-lobed stars under these peaks are perhaps also not without some significance, as well as the eight-petalled flower which serves as the gaming board.

Many questions naturally arise about the design. One wonders why women should be represented as the players. A suggestion, perhaps, may be taken from a game of chess or checkers as it survives among the Man-Coc and Man-Tien at Nguyenbinh in Tonkin (Maynard Owen Williams in the National Geographic Magazine, October, 1935, p. 492ff. and illustrations, especially colour plates XIV and XVI), in which women of these two tribes, the former in brilliant attire with conspicuously checkered trousers, the latter in a drab costume, act as living chessmen on a large chessboard improvised on the ground. They move from square to square, duplicating the moves of tribal dignitaries who play their game on a chessboard of the usual small size: as the women move from place to place, they are seated on chairs, and these chairs are placed astride the intersections of the lines, i.e., at the corners and not within the squares. Disregarding the interesting question as to the original significance of this form of chess game, one may feel that there are sufficient points in common between the outward form of this Tonkin game and the Chinese representation to justify the suspicion that they are more or less distantly related, the more primitive society preserving the actual game, of which the Chinese representation is but a remote reflection.

The Chinese design is presented here with these few tentative suggestions, in the hope that it will come to the attention of others who may be in a position to pursue its significance and relations farther.

Wiman.

#### Technology.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SPOON. By Professor Carl Wiman, Upsala.

**203** At a dinner-party about thirty years ago I happened to sit next to Prof. Oscar Montelius, the famous archaeologist. On that occasion I seized the opportunity of demonstrating to him the ordinary ornamentation of a spoon (see fig. 1).



FIG. 1. MODERN SPOONS SHOWING VESTIGIAL ORNAMENT.

In this ornament the handle extends farther on the under side of the bowl than on the upper

side, as if to support the bowl. The bowl continues a little downwards (on the figure) along the sides of the distal part of the handle. The whole makes the impression as if the spoon were composed of two parts, viz., the bowl and a split handle, which embraces a part of the bowl and supports it on the under side.

I propounded a theory to the effect that the bowl had originally been, for instance, a mussel which had been fixed on to a cloven wooden peg in order not to burn one's fingers or to make the bowl, i.e., the shell, more handy, or both. The same ornament is to be found on forks, but in that case it may have been borrowed from the spoon, which is older.

One can also imagine that they could not make a spoon in one piece, but were obliged to beat the bowl out as a separate piece, and then fix it on to a handle.

I have seen, I believe, in the laboratory of a druggist, separate spoon bowls.

Montelius found my theory very striking, but told me that in the ancient types of spoons there was nothing to support my theory. This



was not new to me; I knew very well that the ancient spoons were of a type which corresponded more to the wooden Lapp-scoop.

As a palaeontologist I must thus draw the conclusion that the spoon has a double descent:— (1) from an implement like the Lapp-scoop, and (2) from the bowl of a mussel or some forged metal, which has secondarily been furnished with a handle.

I have recently discussed my theory with another archaeologist, who advised me to consult some London museum, where an ancient compound spoon of my type might perhaps be known.

It seems also possible to me that the spoon composed of two parts has nothing to do with a stage which is so early that a mussel can be taken into consideration. One can imagine that this spoon is comparatively recent, but has arisen somewhere and then displaced the more ancient scoop-type, which has now totally disappeared or has quite recently been secondarily taken up again as a ladle. For this purpose the ancient scoop-type was more suitable, because its bowl was deeper distally. On such re-adopted scoop-spoons I have seen the same ornament described above in a somewhat reduced form applied as a loan.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIC AND PROTO-HISTORIC SCIENCES: 204 Second Session: Oslo, 3-9 August, 1936.

The First Session of this Congress was held in London in July and August, 1932, and its proceedings were reported in *MAN*, 1932, 240-52. This Second Session fully justified the confidence of its promoters and maintains the high reputation of the City and University of Oslo as a centre of learning, efficiency, and hospitality.

The meetings were held in the stately and convenient buildings of the University, and included inaugural and concluding sessions, four plenary meetings for public lectures on aspects of Scandinavian archaeology, and four days of sectional proceedings, arranged on the same principles as gave general satisfaction in London in 1932.

At the Inaugural Meeting on Monday, 3 August, the Congress was honoured with the presence of His Majesty the King of Norway. The President, Dr. A. W. Brøgger, welcomed the members on behalf of the Organizing Committee, making use of all the five languages recognized by the statutes of the Congress. The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Dr. Halvdan Koht, himself a distinguished historian, expressed the good wishes of the Government of Norway and of the City of Oslo. Sir Charles Peers, who was President of the London Congress, replied on behalf of the foreign visitors, and Dr. Brøgger delivered his presidential address on the theme of *The New Age of Discovery*. The proceedings were opened by Johan Svendsen's *Norsk Rapædi No. 3* rendered by the orchestra of the Philharmonic Society; and were closed by D. M. Johansen's ode *Gamle Norig*, sung unaccompanied by the fine choir of the Students' Association.

On the evening of the opening day a visit was paid to Bygdøy, across the fiord, where the Viking ships from Oseberg and Gokstad have been magnificently installed, mainly by the exertions of Dr. Brøgger, in a well-designed museum, together with examples of contemporary timber huts, and other objects.

The members were afterwards entertained at Dronningen, at the water side, by the Norwegian Archaeological Society, and returned to the city about midnight by ferry. On Tuesday, 5 August, there was a similar evening party at Frogner-saeteren, overlooking the city and its fiord and islands from a wooded height of about 1,500 feet. Thursday was devoted to a whole-day visit to Horten, Gokstad, and Sandefjord. On Friday Their Majesties the King and Queen of Norway graciously received the members at tea in the Royal Palace, overlooking the city; and on Saturday the City of Oslo concluded the visit with a farewell dinner.

Four general lectures, forming a series of studies in the Northern cycle of culture, were given by leading Norwegian prehistorians; Dr. Johs Boë on *The Origins of Civilization in the Extreme North of Europe*; Dr. Gutarm Gjessing on *The Norwegian Monumental Art of the Weidmannakultur*, interpreting the famous rock-engravings as illustrations of the life of primitive hunters; Dr. Haakon Shetelig on *Elements of Teutonic Ornament during the Migration Period*; and Dr. Bjørn Hougen on *The Oseberg Textiles and the earliest history of Weaving in Norway*.

In connexion with the last named, there was a special loan-exhibition of textiles of the Viking Age, with an admirable catalogue by Dr. Hougen. Other exhibitions illustrated the rock-paintings and engravings of other parts of the world, from Finland to South Africa, and the development of design in the personal ornaments of the Migration Period, with a finely illustrated description, also by Dr. Hougen. It should also be mentioned that the first volume of Dr. J. Boë's monumental study of the Norwegian rock-engravings has been published in honour of the Oslo meeting.

The splendid collections of the University Museum, the Museum of Industrial Art, and the National Gallery attracted general attention, and a visit was arranged to the remarkable collections of the Oslo sculptor, Mr. Vigeland.



Sections I and II met jointly for Human Paleontology and Stone Age questions. Papers on physical anthropology were few but important: by H. V. Vallois on the very short *Duration of Life among Prehistoric Men*, and by Shevket Aziz Kansu on *Skeletons from Alaka Höyük and Kuntepe in Anatolia*. More general questions were raised by H. Field, on the *Antiquity of Man in South-western Asia*, and W. Wolff on the *Primitive History of Mankind*. The Abbé Breuil had notes on the working of *Stone and Bone at Chou-kou-tien*, and H. J. H. Drummond and T. T. Paterson an account of *Stone Age Discoveries and Problems in India*.

M. W. F. Tweedie reported *Discoveries in the Pleistocene of South-east Java*.

Northern Africa was well represented by M. Reygasse on industries and rock carvings and paintings in *Central Sahara, Hoggar and Tassili*, Miss G. Caton Thompson on *Stone Age Problems in N. Africa*, R. Vaufray and H. Rothert on *Rock-carvings*. H. Obermeier dealt with the *Rock-Art of Eastern Spain*.

In Europe, N. N. Morosan described a *Solutrian Site in Bessarabia*, and two examples of *Mammoth-hunting in Roumania*; O. Tschumi, the *Palaeolithic Caves of the Bernese Oberland*.

*Mesolithic finds in Esthonia* were announced by H. Moora, *Microolithic Settlements* in central Jutland by T. Mathiassen, the *Ancylus and older Litorina* *Cultures in Western Sweden* by N. Niklasson, *Maglemosian objects found in Belgium*, by R. L. Doize, and the *Late Palaeolithic of Meiendorf*, by A. Rust.

Section III.A, devoted to neolithic and subsequent cultures of Northern and Western Europe, had a full programme of important papers. J. D. Grahame Clark's account of the *British Connections of the Baltic Stone Age Cultures* covered wide ground with full knowledge and careful inference; and his account of the *Fenland Research Committee* showed what the intensive study of a specific regional problem can yield, even in a few seasons. J. Brøndsted's discussion of the *Transition from the Kitchen midden stage to the Neolithic in Denmark*, and C. Blake Whelan's analysis of *Northern Irish Stone Industries* illustrated the same problem in other regions.

*Megalithic cultures* were discussed by W. F. Grimes for Wales, by Mrs. Hawkes for Jersey, by E. E. Evans and Miss Gaffikin for Northern Ireland, and by Mrs. Clifford for the *Neolithic Rites of Southern Britain* in relation to the *Notgrove Long Barrow*. A. Keiller and Stuart-Piggott reported on *Recent discoveries at Avebury*.

*Rock Engravings* in Northern Europe were classified by G. Hallström; in Middle Germany by Walther Schulz, and in Scotland by A. J. Edwards.

The *Hallstatt Bronze Sword in Britain* was the subject of papers by Francis Owen and J. D. Cowen; the *Halberd in Bronze Age Europe* by Séan P. O'Riordáin; the *Early Bronze Age in the South-west of England* by C. A. Raleigh Radford; and the *Western Bronze Age and the Celts* by C. P. C. Hawkes. Special topics were the *Bronze Age*

*Textiles in Denmark* by H. C. Broholm, and *Soldering and Welding in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages* by Herbert Maryon. Miss Mary Kitson-Clark gave useful *Notes on the Prehistory of Yorkshire*.

Of more general scope were the papers of Prof. Bolko, Fr. von Richthofen on *New Directions of Prehistoric Study in Eastern Europe*, E. Volteris on the coming of the *Lithuanian-speaking people* into their present abodes, and V. Hermannsen's commemoration of the centenary of C. J. Thomsen's "*Three Age System*" for Stone Bronze and Iron. The *Early Iron Age* was the subject of papers by G. Hatt on *Types of Dwellings in Jutland*, and by G. Hasse on *Belgian Iron Javelins*.

Section III.B. M. E. L. Mallowan discussed the *Origin of Asiatic Painted Wares* in the light of his own excavations at Nineveh, Arpachiya, and Syria; B. Filow announced remarkable *Connections between Thracian and Mycenaean culture*, especially 'Cycladic' statuettes, gold prototypes of Minyan ceramic forms and Minoan rapiers, from Thracian sites; R. W. Hutchinson examined the types and distribution of *Aegean Battle Axes*; P. Dikaio described his *Discovery in Cyprus* of inhabited sites of two distinct cultures anterior to the first regular Bronze Age; and C. F. A. Schaeffer announced *Fresh Discoveries at Ras Shamra and in Cyprus* supplementing those communicated to the London Congress. There are here four cultures earlier than the Cypro-Mycenaean: a remarkable painted ware culture has affinities with Syrian and Mesopotamian painted wares, and is dated by imported Middle Minoan pottery. The remarkable announcement, by R. O. Arik, of the discovery of early burials with gold ornaments and vases, bronze deer and 'sun wheels,' and fabrics of pottery resembling the earliest at Ras Shamra, at *Alaka-Höyük* in Anatolia, was read in Section I-II, but has its proper place here. Miss E. de Manneville's well-illustrated description of the *Statuary, Architecture, and Ceramics of Prehistoric Malta* provoked several questions and references to other Mediterranean cultures.

All these papers were discussed at some length, and illustrated the inter-dependence of excavation and research in the wide region with which this section deals.

Section III.C, for Eastern and Southern Europe, received through J. L. Myres a full report from the *Committee on the Cultures of the Western Mediterranean* on the archaeological surveys of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Malta, executed by Dr. Elise Baumgärtel, and on work in the Balearic islands. *Neolithic Cultures* were discussed by I. Wahle and J. Neustupny for mid-Europe, by M. Grbič for the Yugoslav section of the Middle Danube. There were technological papers on the *Neolithic Textiles* of the Swiss Pile-dwellings by E. Vogt, on *Primitive Wood Culture* by R. Pittioni, and on *Recent Discoveries of Pile-dwellings* in the Wauweilermoss and at Egozswil. F. v. Tompa gave a thorough and convincing review of *Bronze Age Chronology in Hungary*, and K. Willvonseder an estimate of *Austria's position in the mid-European Bronze Age*. Important contributions to the chronology of the



*Painted-Ware Cultures of Eastern Europe* were made by V. Dimitrescu describing the new site of Atmageana-Tătărasca, and by R. Vulpe, with a 'pre-Cucuteni' site at Izvoarele. *Bronze Pins with Side Loop* were examined by H. L. Jansen, *Bohemian Chariot burials* by J. Filip, the *Maikop Tumulus* by I. Barkovskij, the *Eskelhem Horse-bits* by S. Gallus, the *Incised Stone at Lampersdorf* in Silesia by E. Petersen, and settlement sites at Biskupia in Poland by J. Kostrzewski, and in Bohemia by L. Franz.

Section IV received communications from P. V. van Stein Callenfels on *Prehistoric Problems of South-east Asia*, from C. G. Seligman and H. C. Beck on *Early Contacts between Europe and the Far East*, from D. J. Finn on *Finds in the Hongkong Region*, and from Khawaj Mohammed Ahmed, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum, on recent finds in Hyderabad.

Section V, covering the migration period, began with the *New Corpus of Danish Runic Inscriptions* by L. Jacobsen and E. Moltke, and W. Krause on *Runes as phonetic signs and symbols of ideas*. *Excavations in fortified settlements* were described by F. Balodis and V. Nagevicius for Lithuania. A. E. van Giffen in the Netherlands, P. Norland in Denmark, and J. Eisner in Czechoslovakia. *Ancient Farmsteads and House-forms* were illustrated by J. Petersen, in Roga-land, by S. Grieg in east and west Norway in comparison, by A. O. Curle in Shetland, by Freiherr B. von Richthofen in Schleswig-Holstein, by C. A. Raleigh Radford in Anglesey; and the *Antiquity of Strip Cultivation in Western Europe* by C. E. Stevens. The *Vandekultur* was discussed by B. Nerman in the light of finds in Gothland; J. B. Perkins attempted a chronology of *Visigothic Sculptures in France*; and Miss Anna Roes proposed an *Origin for the Whirl Motives* in early ornament. For the Saxon and Viking movements there were papers by V. Gordon Childe on *Early Iron Age types common to Norway and North Britain*, M. Jahn on *Norway and the home of the Vandals*, G. Rosenberg on a *Viking Ship Burial at Ladbj in Fünen, Denmark*, D. A. Chart on the prospect of *Viking Discoveries* by excavation in Northern Ireland, J. N. L. Myres on the *Ceramic Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England*, and Miss Mary Boyle on *Foreign influences in early eastern Scottish sculpture*.

Decorative Arts were well represented by T. J. Arne on *The Art of the Migration-People in South Russia*, H. Zeiss on *South German Animal-motives in the early Migration Period*, E. T. Leeds on the *Large Anglo-Saxon squareheaded Brooch in England*, H. Kühn on the *Migration-time in relation with Siberia and China* deprecated the premature identification of western forms in Chinese culture, though occasional foreign objects were certainly known, from Central Asia and beyond. Miss Agnes Geijer described *Textiles from the graves at Birka*, which illustrated those from Oseberg. Ethnological questions were raised by I. Barkovskij on *Contracted Burials of the 'Burg-wall' period in Bohemia*, and V. Ščerbakivskij on the *Primitive Slave Problem*.

At the concluding session of the Oslo Congress it was resolved unanimously to accept the invitation to hold the Third Session in 1940 at Buda-Pesth, and to nominate Prof. F. von Tompa as President and Dr. S. Gallus as Secretary, together with Dr. J. Boë of Bergen as Co-Secretary, to maintain the continuity of the Third Congress with the Second.

Everyone who attended the Oslo Congress must have been impressed with the great value of such gatherings for the intercommunication of methods, results, and ideas; and, no less, with the immense amount of forethought, effort, and goodwill, on the part of the Norwegian Organizing Committee, of which this successful meeting is the happy outcome.

J. L. M.

#### FIRST INTERNATIONAL SPELÆOLOGICAL CONFERENCE. Buxton: 24-28 July, 1936.

**205** This Conference was arranged by the recently founded British Spelæological Association, under the presidency of Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S. The programme included two sectional series of communications, (a) archaeological, and (b) geological and hydrological; the address of the President, and a public lecture by Dr. Marett; a loan exhibition; and excursions to the caves of the Manifold Valley and Dovedale, the Bagshaw Cavern, Cresswell Caves, and some of the caves of the Castleton district. The members were hospitably entertained at a civic reception by the Mayor of Buxton, Councillor Edwin White. The arrangements were in the hands of Professor L. S. Palmer, chairman of the Association, Mr. G. H. Hill, Borough Librarian and Museum Curator, Messrs. F. A. Holmes, E. Simpson, J. W. Jackson, excursion leaders, and Dr. S. B. Adams and Mr. S. J. Pick, sectional secretaries.

Sir Arthur Keith's address on *History from the Caves* expounded 'a new theory of the origin of the modern races of mankind,' based on human remains from cave-deposits. How did humanity become broken up into sections which though adjoining, are so different in their colouring? Recent discoveries did not support the older theory of a 'mid-pleistocene ancestral stock,' nor of an outward migration from a common centre. More probably by the beginning of the pleistocene period the ancestors of the Mongol, of the Australian, and of the Negro were already in occupation of the continental areas where we now find their descendants. Man, that is, is not 'unconquerably nomadic': at the date of separation into modern races, each race was still 'in the rough', and after separation each underwent similar or parallel changes. *Sinanthropus* from China, *Pithecanthropus* from Java, and *Kanani* man from East Africa exhibited respectively Mongolian, Australian, and Negro characters. The future of each race, like its past, is latent in its genetic constitution. Nature, however, retains the right of introducing into it new and unexpected items.

Among the sectional papers may be noted the following:—Mr. A. W. Stilfox on the *Fossil Fauna*



of *Irish Cave Deposits*, submitted four points to future investigators (1) Was man contemporary, or not, with the Reindeer-Megaceros-Lemming fauna? (2) Was this fauna contemporaneous with the Mammoth-Hyaena fauna, or perhaps more recent? (3) What is the relation of the stalagmite floors and their fauna, to the deposits above and below the stalagmite? (4) More precise observation of the position of each bone in a cave deposit, and consequently slower and more careful 'digging'.

Mr. A. Vandeborch described the Belgian *Caves of the Engihoul Valley*; Mr. M. C. Burkett the general conditions of cave life in France and Spain; Dr. G. G. MacCurdy the *American Caves and Cave Dwellers*, indicating earlier appearances of man in the New World than has been generally supposed; Professor G. B. Barbour, the *Chou-kou-tien Cave Deposits*; Dr. J. W. Jackson, his *Cave Excavations in Northern Ireland* at Ballintoy in Antrim. The caves are in hard chalk and belong to the 25ft. Raised Beach period. They were occupied in the Iron Age, and also earlier; an unusual find was a 'mother goddess' figurine in baked clay. Dr. A. L. Armstrong, in the *Cresswell Crags* deposits had found an engraving of a masked man which Mr. Burkitt regarded as establishing the Aurignacian date of the Altamira cave engravings; Mr. A. H. Ogilvie reported progress from *Kent's Cavern*, and Dr. H. Taylor from *King Arthur's Cave*, Symond's Yat.

Less directly connected with human occupation of caves were the accounts by Mr. M. H. Chantry of his exploration of Nettle Pot Cave near Castleton, by Mr. M. Grainger of the Peak Cavern, and by Mr. F. G. Balcomb of new diving methods and underwater photography at Wookey Hole. Mr. E. J. Douglas reviewed the present state of biospeleology;

Mr. E. Simpson discussed *Calcareous Deposits*, Cav. E. Boegan the *Deepest Caves in the World*, Mr. P. M. Bartlett described the *Caves of County Clare*, and Mr. I. C. Foley, the work in *Lost John's Cave*, from 1926 to 1935.

The next conference is to be at Bristol in July, 1937.

## TELL DUWEIR: THE WELLCOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH EXPEDITION TO THE NEAR EAST. *Excavations of 1935.*

**206** The fourth season's work, under Mr. J. L. Starkey, has revealed several constructions and other interesting objects. A small circular tomb, lined with plaster, and not much disturbed, yielded objects dated between 1400 and 1275 B.C. On a vase-cover is a *graffito* in the same early alphabetic script as are the 'bowl' and 'ewer' inscriptions of earlier seasons. Scarabs bear the names of Thothmes III and Amenhotep III. In a neighbouring chamber, beneath a mass of animal bones of Assyrian date, were remains of some 1,500 human bodies. Two of the skulls, which will be published in MAN, 1936, 233, had been trephined not by scraping but by intersecting saw-cuts, in the Inca fashion. So large a mass of material should yield important anthropometric information.

Under the altar bench in the middle temple exposed last year a deposit of well preserved pottery included an Aegean goblet in 'Late Hellenic II' style, of 1500-1400 B.C. with characteristic painted ivy-pattern.

An interesting range of shops or small factories yielded a private seal-impression with fragments of papyrus attached, traces of looms, saddle-querns, and a dye-vat.

## OBITUARY.

**Sir Henry S. Wellcome. 1844, 25th July, 1936.**

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Born in Wisconsin, and familiar in boyhood with Dakota Indians, Sioux warfare, and field surgery, Henry Wellcome devoted himself early to his lifelong study of pharmacology, first in Chicago and Philadelphia, then in New York. Extensive travels, especially in the quinine forests of South America, prepared him for the establishment, with the late S. M. Burroughs, of his manufacture of fine chemicals, of the 'tabloid' method for dispensing them in uniform quantities and compact form, and of the first system of experimental study of the action of drugs under varied, and especially under tropical conditions. His tropical research laboratories at Khartoum were among the first civilized institutions of the liberated Sudan, which he had visited in Gordon's time, and found to be well suited for his purposes; for from his wide travels Wellcome had acquired a keen interest in native medicines, and appreciation of the local knowledge

and experience which they represented. Similarly, early acquaintance with the British Museum's collections had inspired a keen interest in ancient life. These convergent experiences led him to devote much of his ample wealth to what he described as a Historical Medical Museum, which included the whole course of the healing art, and every aspect of its equipment. He was an inveterate collector, and found satisfaction in large series, sometimes of almost overwhelming extent. These vast collections are now housed, together with the headquarters of his other interests, in the fine building in the Euston Road, inaugurated in 1931.

From the history of medicine it was no great step to other archaeological inquiries. On the Upper Nile, stone age sites at Gebel Moya and elsewhere attracted his personal attention, and were explored extensively in 1901 and 1910. Unfortunately this vast material is still practically unpublished. More recently Wellcome was a generous supporter



of other excavations at Meroë and in Palestine; of studies in Egyptian folk-lore and folk-medicine; and of Mr. Reid Moir's work on the Cromer gravels at home.

Naturally, in his desire to illustrate the subjects which interest him, a man of such practical bent devoted much attention to Museum technique. His evidence before the Royal Commission on the National Collections went as far as he ever allowed himself towards formulating his own ideas and aims. But he preferred to keep his enterprises in one strong hand, and distrusted both public control and committee government.

In the Royal Archaeological Institute he is remembered as the founder of the Wellcome Research Medal in gold, awarded annually for an essay on the application of scientific research to the administration of native peoples; as a generous contributor to the success of the first International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences; and also as the shy, shrewd yet kindly host, at those evening receptions in his remarkable storehouse of specimens, when he delighted to explain his collections himself, in their relation to the main aims of his life, the application of knowledge and reason to the general wellbeing. J. L. MYRES.

## REVIEWS.

### PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

**The History of the Human Skeletons preserved in the Ossuary of the Church of St. Leonard, Hythe.** By G. M. Morant, D.Sc., with a

Foreword by the Rev. Edwin W. Smith, M.A.  
London: F. J. Parsons, 1935. 41 pp. Price 1s. 6d.

Many of us are familiar with the brilliant papers by Dr. Morant on the cranial characters of the English people at various stages of their history. These papers have not received the attention which is their due owing to the fact that the pages of *Biometrika* (XVIII, 1926, Saxon; XXIII, 1931, Spitalfields; XXIV, 1932, Hythe) are somewhat frightening to the anthropologist without mathematical training. In this booklet Dr. Morant has rewritten in a popular form his views on the crania preserved at Hythe and their racial affinities. He discusses at length the historical and archaeological position and shows that there is no reason to doubt that they are mediæval in origin. He also shows that they are brachycephalic and racially akin to the crania recently excavated at Spitalfields. The latter cannot be dated archaeologically; they may be of Romano-British date, they may be mediæval. As to racial affinities there can be no doubt that the Spitalfields crania link up closely with Etruscan and the series found in Pompeii under the lava of Vesuvius. The Hythe crania, on the other hand, which are also brachycephalic, are more mixed, and though belonging to the same group show relationships with Italy and Eastern Europe. Dr. Morant sums up the position by saying "These two closely related populations—in London and Kent—appear to represent communities which lived in England for some hundreds of years, but they must be supposed alien in the sense that they can never have represented the bulk of the population of the country at any date." He continues: "These people are supposed to be the descendants of the Roman provincials and, in that case, they were doubtless different in type from the vast majority

"of the people who lived in Kent in the Middle Ages."

This statement is one which deserves critical examination. Dr. Morant has shown that the Romano-Britons, Saxons, and Londoners from seventeenth-century plague-pits belong to a type which is different from the Spitalfields and Hythe series, but are all closely related. My own, as yet unpublished, measurements on a long series of Romano-Britons, Saxons, and eighteenth and early nineteenth century confirms this.

The mesocephalic peoples, Romano-British, Saxon, and modern then present no difficulties, but it is quite otherwise with the brachycephals. Apart from the Spitalfields crania (of doubtful date), and the Hythe crania (certainly mediæval), there are other series of brachycephals. We have in Oxford a few from Richborough which so careful a writer as Rolleston considered as Romano-British: the series from Dunstable, published by Young and Dingwall,<sup>1</sup> are of uncertain date. These writers, who date the remains as fifth to sixth centuries, think that they are descendants of Romans. There is, however, no positive evidence that the date of the Dunstable skeletons is fifth to sixth century. In the original report of the excavation Dunning and Wheeler state<sup>2</sup>: "It is impossible to affirm that any of the objects (Roman and Pagan Saxon) found in the same layer were in the archaeological sense associated with them (the skeletons)." There is, in fact, no evidence as to Saxon date; on the whole the *a priori* evidence seems against it.

Turning to safer ground, there are two series of undoubtedly mediæval date, from Abingdon and Rothwell II<sup>3</sup>, which have been measured by my pupil, Mr. Trevor, which we hope to publish shortly. These two series are so close to the Spitalfields series that they cannot be considered as anything else than parts of the same population. Since we cannot date Spitalfields archaeologically it would seem best to

<sup>1</sup> *Biometrika*, XXV, 1933, pp. 147-157.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæological Journal*, 88, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> The crania from Rothwell can be divided on archaeological grounds into two series, I and II, of which I is

closely related to Spitalfields and the other to the Romano-Britons and Saxons. Details of these series are in the course of publication.



adopt Dr. Morant's perfectly sound suggestion and limit ourselves to accepting their ethnological position; in other words until we have further data it is preferable to accept a close relationship with crania of known English mediæval date for the skulls, rather than a less close relationship with Italy, as giving a clue to their position in history. Further, while Spitalfields becomes probably mediæval, there seems no ground for suggesting that the Hythe bones are descendants of Roman settlers. But this is not the only evidence we can produce. Mediæval skulls, though not sufficient for statistical study, are available from Bristol, from Norfolk and from Oxford. All belong to this same brachycephalic group. A series from Cambridge, published by Duckworth,<sup>1</sup> are a mixture between the two types. Had we not been able to divide up the Rothwell crania on archaeological grounds this is exactly the condition we should have found there. Under these circumstances it does seem as if the roundheads were wide spread in England in mediæval times. There remain the Rieborough series and the Dunstable series; for the first I cannot find the details of the excavation and no report appears to have been issued, and there seems to be more than a chance that they may be mediæval also. The date of the Dunstable series is equally uncertain.

There is no reason to doubt that all these roundheads show closer affinities with Europe than they do with other English series, but these affinities are widespread, they are physically very closely akin to the Finns for example and to the Czechs, as well as Italians. We cannot say at present how and when these aliens came in; some of the series are certainly mainly ecclesiastical, but this is not true of the Rothwell I, Hythe, or Spitalfields series. Nor do we know what happened to the old Saxon type, which forms the population of England to-day, and of seventeenth-century London. More evidence is badly needed, but with such evidence as is available to-day it does seem more reasonable to suggest that the Hythe people are not as Dr. Morant suggests, the lingering descendants of Romans, but really a part of the mediæval population of England, aliens, no doubt, but aliens at least whose bones lie scattered over a wide area, from Kent to Berkshire and from Berkshire to Norfolk, and even very possibly as far north as Durham.

L. H. D. BUXTON.

**L'Homme Fossile de Předmosti en Moravie (Tchécoslovaquie). I. Les Crânes.** Par Prof. Dr.

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J. Matiegka. *Académie Tchèque des Sciences et des Arts, 2ième Classe : Prague, 1934. 37 x 27 cm., text in Czech, 1-103 pp., summarised text in French, 105-145 pp.*

In 1880 J. Wankel found half of a human lower jaw in excavating a calcareous rock near the village of Předmost. In May, 1894, K. J. Maška extracted fragments of another jaw and of a humerus, and in August of the same year M. Kříž exposed a remarkable communal grave containing the skeletal remains of at least 20 people. Finally, in 1928 K. Absalon discovered at the same site the fragments of a new skeleton,

lacking the skull. The most important of these finds was not made by the excavator who deserved most to be rewarded, for Maška had been digging at Předmost for ten seasons. Archaeology is a speculative line of research and good fortune, rather than inspiration or hard work, is often the principal begetter of a reputation in it.

Maška had the intention of writing a comprehensive work dealing with the palaeontological, archaeological and human skeletal material from the site, but with no help, and no prospect of getting such a monograph published, he abandoned the idea and no part was completed when he died in 1916. This volume is dedicated to his memory and the frontispiece is a portrait of him. Its publication has been aided by a fund established by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička in memory of his wife. Although no promises are given, it is to be hoped that this is the first of a series of volumes which will deal, in an equally detailed and authoritative way, with different aspects of one of the most important discoveries relating to prehistoric man that has yet been made. The skeletal and other material was eventually collected together in the Provincial Museum (Musée Zenské) at Brno and, in spite of a number of small papers dealing with parts of it, the need for a complete description has long been felt. It is only in very recent years that the collection has been accessible to anthropologists in general. Photographs and excellent plaster casts of two of the skulls have made them familiar objects to many specialists, but the majority of the others had never been described before the appearance of the volume reviewed, which is dated 1934, though no copy appears to have reached this country before the present year.

The communal sepulture was probably of 20 individuals, 15 skeletons having been found more or less complete: 8 of the 20 represent adults, the others being adolescent or juvenile. Associated with them was the skull of an arctic fox, bones of mammoths—one scapula having been scratched by a flint implement—fragments of flint and jasper, and burnt bones. There is no photograph or sketch of the grave extant. Maška believed that these remains are of Solutrean age and his opinion was often accepted, though it is now agreed that they should be attributed to the Aurignacian epoch.

Maška also suggested that the grave—which had evidently been made intentionally—was a family one, and Professor Matiegka concludes that certain individual peculiarities (such as the absence of parietal foramina for 5 skulls and the presence of a foramen on the left side only for 4 others) demonstrates that the individuals buried were closely related, but he considers that it is safer to suppose them members of the same band, rather than of the same family. He provides the first detailed descriptions of the skulls, and his remarks on the best known of them (No. III) are of particular interest. This is a large and undoubtedly male specimen with marked muscular development and possessing, as its most salient characteristic, abnormally large and prominent superciliary ridges. This last feature had led some anthropologists to conclude that the skull is of a transitional type between those of Neanderthaloid and modern man. Professor Matiegka supposes, from a comparison of the superciliary region and other parts of the frontal bone—though the metrical characters derived from these other parts suggest the conclusion far less forcibly—that “le crâne no. III se place à la limite des crânes récents et forme ainsi la transition avec les crânes de la race de Néanderthal.” Were any other characters of this skull found to suggest the

<sup>1</sup> “Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications,” Vol. XIX, pp. 7-38.



same conclusion? Certain features of the *rami* of the mandible, notably their unusual inclination inwards, so that the bigonial breadth is exceptionally small relative to the bicondylar, are the only ones mentioned as doing so, and for these the specimen is not clearly distinguished from all modern skulls. Among the others of the Predmost series there is only one—No. XVIII which consists of little more than an incomplete frontal bone—showing development of the superciliary ridges about as extreme as any which may be found among a collection representing a muscular European race, such as the Anglo-Saxon. At the same time, rather unusual development of the same region appears to be a characteristic of all the Predmost skulls, including those which are judged female adult or adolescent. But hosts of other characters may be found which are absolutely typical for modern man and do not offer the slightest suggestion of special affinity to the Neanderthaloid type. Some of these might, indeed, suggest peculiar distinction from it. In spite of the large size and muscularity of the Predmost crania, they are distinguished, for example, "par leur structure remarquablement gracile et la minceur de leurs os, partout, par leur poids relativement léger." Professor Matiegka is rather hesitant in drawing general conclusions, but he writes: "Au point de vue morphologique, on peut placer les crânes de Predmosti entre les types quaternaires anciens et récents, mais on ne peut le faire au point de vue génétique." In the reviewer's opinion this is going too far. More than ten years ago Professor Boule concluded that: "On constate entre les termes extrêmes de la série des crânes actuels, toutes les formes de passage, tandis que cette série se sépare nettement du groupe des crânes fossiles par une sorte d'hiatus correspondant à une véritable rupture morphologique." The fossil skulls referred to here are those of the Neanderthaloid type, and it is shown that they are distinguished from modern types by numerous characters of the skull and other parts of the skeleton. Under these circumstances it seems safest not to attach any special significance, even *au point de vue morphologique*, to the fact that a type which obviously belongs to the modern series is characterised, as a member of that series, by the possession of a single character which is almost extreme for it, while the same character for the Neanderthaloid type clearly differentiates it from all the modern series. The situation would have to be the same for several characters, if not for a whole complex of them, before the view that the Predmost skulls occupy a position between the Lower Palaeolithic and recent types could be considered established. *Au point de vue génétique* it seems safest, in the present state of our knowledge, to conclude that the Neanderthaloid people were related equally distantly and indirectly to all the races of Upper Palaeolithic and later times, including the race to which the Predmost people belonged.

Professor Matiegka is unwilling to assign the people whose remains he describes to a new race; he places them in the Cro-Magnon group. Any conclusions regarding this matter must be considered tentative only, owing to the paucity of the available evidence. Twenty closely related individuals are likely to give a far more biased appreciation of the characters of the race to which they belong than are twenty unrelated individuals picked at random from the same group.

The unusual development of the supra-ciliary region observed may have been a family rather than a racial characteristic.

He remarks: "Les jugements portés jusqu'à présent par les auteurs sur la classification systématique des crânes de Predmosti se basaient uniquement sur l'examen superficiel de photographies ou de moulages, en même temps que l'on a peut-être fait trop de cas de leurs caractères neanderthaloïdes." There is a mis-statement here, however, as one earlier description of part of the material has been overlooked. In 1926 Dr. Absalon allowed the present writer to study four of the most complete skeletons (Nos. III, IV, IX and X). Descriptions, measurements and contours of these skulls were published in 1930.<sup>1</sup> We thus have an opportunity of comparing two sets of measurements of the same specimens determined quite independently. Restricting comparisons to cases in which it may be supposed that almost identical definitions were used, it is found that 63 out of 85 differences are not greater than 1 mm. The largest differences<sup>2</sup> are 6 mm. (in two cases) and these are for the horizontal circumference, the largest measurement. On the whole the agreement is satisfactory, though clearer indication might have been given in Professor Matiegka's tables of the uncertainty attached to some readings owing to reconstruction, or to difficulties in locating certain points.

The penultimate section of the memoir deals with the very peculiar attrition of the buccal surfaces of the lateral teeth found on all the adult skulls. The upper first molars are most worn in this way and the teeth of the right side were more affected than those of the left. It is suggested that the effect was produced by the habit of keeping stones in the cheeks. Finally, descriptions are given of the interiors of the skulls, endo-cranial casts having been made. It is concluded that: "Tant la forme générale et les dimensions des moulages reproduisant l'intérieur des crânes que les empreintes laissées par les circonvolutions du cerveau, indiquent une parfaite structure de cet organe, tel qu'il caractérise l'Homme sapiens actuel, sans qu'il soit possible, pour le moment, d'établir quelque marque d'infériorité ou de primitivisme."

Physical anthropologists will be grateful to Professor Matiegka for having provided this full account of most important material. There are numerous diagrams and reproductions of photographs in the text, and the 16 plates give the clearest possible second-hand impression of the forms of the skulls.

G. M. MORANT.

**Abstammungs- und Rassenkunde des Menschen (Anthropologie). I Teil. Abstammungskunde des Menschen.** Von Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Gieseler. *Schriften des Deutschen Naturwissenschafters, ser. V., Band 56 (alte Reihe).* Öhringen: Verlag Hohenlohesche Buchhandlung Ferdinand Rau, 1936. 208 S. mit 105 Abbildungen und 196 Lichtbildern auf 56 Kunstdrucktafeln. Price 4-50 R.M.

This is the first of two volumes which aim at providing a brief survey of most branches of that science which is called *Anthropologie* in Germany and physical anthropology in England. It is evidently addressed to the unspecialized reader, but the arrangement and style are more like those of a text-book than they would be in the case of a popular exposition of the subject in English. No references are given and there is

<sup>1</sup> "Studies of Palaeolithic Man, IV. A Biometric Study of the Upper Palaeolithic Skulls of Europe and of their Relationships to Earlier and Later Types." *Annals of Eugenics*, Vol. IV, pp. 109-214.

<sup>2</sup> Excluding the *dist. nasion-basion* for No. IX, the value given by Professor Matiegka (as well as the same measurement for No. VII) being obviously inaccurate.



no index to this volume. The illustrations were taken from a hundred different sources, and there are a few which appear to be original; all are excellently reproduced. Topics dealt with in succession are the purpose and scope of what might be called the study of the physical evolution of man, the development of this subject, living primates, fossil apes and the skeletal remains of prehistoric man treated in chronological order of their ages. An outline of the appropriate geological and cultural phases is also given in its proper place. The second volume is to deal with *Rassenkunde*. There is high authority for dealing with the different branches of the subject in this order, but one may well wonder whether such a treatment is the best possible. Surely it would be more consonant with the spirit of scientific inquiry to proceed in the reverse direction, and thus to deal first with what is known best. There would be some truth in the taunt, which some critics have been making recently, that there are, in fact, remarkably few principles derived from *Rassenkunde* which are applied to elucidate the problems of *Abstammungskunde*. Very properly, the book reviewed deals far more with descriptive facts than with those numerous controversies regarding human origins which are only likely to be settled for good by knowledge obtained from more abundant skeletal remains. Of those made already which have not been adequately described yet, the five incomplete crania discovered in Java (Ngandong) in 1931 and 1932 and the Steinheimer skull (1933) appear most likely to necessitate revision of current theories. Professor Gieseler discusses these specimens at some length.

G. M. MORANT.

**New Types of Old Americans at Harvard and at Eastern Women's Colleges.** By Gordon Townsend Bowles. Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1932. 9½ x 6½. xviii + 144 pp. Numerous tables and diagrams. Price 14s. net.

The author of this monograph is fortunate in having a (statistically) reasonable amount of material at his disposal and is to be congratulated on the clear and able way in which he has made use of his resources. Over a long period measurements have been taken at Harvard, and between the years 1840 and 1930 measurements of heights and weights for nearly 3,000 men were available, and, further, nearly a thousand had thirty measurements made on them. In addition, the author had records of soldiers of New Hampshire in the Revolutionary War and sailors of the Peabody Ships of Salem immediately prior to 1812. The female series came from Wellesley, Vassar, Smith, and Mt. Holyoke. The material was most carefully considered first from the point of view of the reliability and identity of the material, i.e., similarity of technique, etc. The racial origins of the material was next examined, especially with a view to ascertaining American parentage. Finally, fathers and sons, brothers and brothers, and similar female relationships were grouped. After this critical preliminary work mean values of measurements and their correlations, especially the parental and fraternal correlations, were calculated. All this sounds complicated in the telling and must have involved a great deal of intricate statistical work. The result of such work is often entirely meritorious, but leaves much to be desired from the point of view of comment and exposition. Dr. Bowles has, however, succeeded in the face of many difficulties not only in doing the work, but in producing it in a form which is both intelligible and interesting. His conclusions, and they seem to be based on sufficient evidence, are that there has been a steady increase in stature both as a secular change and also from one generation

to another. There is a similar, but somewhat more irregular change, in weight. This latter may be due to uncertainties of recording weight. The present reviewer's experience has been that, difficult as it is to get a consistent reading of stature, a reasonably accurate estimate of weight, even if it were constant during student days, is almost impossible with the older types of machines. A further interesting and important conclusion, which agrees with Professor Pearson's work, is that fraternal correlation exceeds parental. It is hardly possible in a short notice to cover the whole field of this short, but admirable, work, but it can be very strongly recommended to anyone interested in the statistical treatment of data on the living. L. H. D. B.

**Reproduction, Heredity and the Development of Sex.** x + 222 pp. **The History and Adventure of Life.** x + 260 pp. **The Drama of Life.** x + 316 pp. By H. G. Wells, Julian Huxley and G. P. Wells. London: Cassell. Illustrated. 4s. each.

These useful little books originally formed part of one volume, *The Science of Life*, in which the three authors aimed at a complete survey of the results of biological science written for the general reader. The text has been broken up into nine separate works, each dealing with a department of biology; and it has been rewritten and brought up to date. The style is clear and the treatment popular: the volume on ecology (*History and Adventure of Life*) describes the home of Mr., Mrs., and Master Everyman, their dog, cat, rabbits and cabbages, and their parasites, from a biological standpoint. Apart from the humorous touches, there is a great deal of sound information in this and the volume on Evolutionary Biology (*Drama of Life*)—information which no properly educated person should be without. But the book on Genetics (*Reproduction, Heredity, etc.*) is probably the most essential to the average man, for in this as perhaps in no other science has progress been made at an astonishing rate during the last decade; and the results of research on chromosomes, sex determination and gland rejuvenation are of the most vital importance to the human race. In no other science, too, is popular belief more ignorant or misguided, and it is very salutary that such superstitions as "germ infection" or maternal impressions should be here neatly rapped on the head for public benefit. Every school child should have these admirably lucid volumes and they are equally necessary for the ordinary adult whose scientific education was neglected in the Edwardian classroom. The illustrations are simple and vivid, and particularly fascinating is the series of plates drawn to scale of the sizes of organisms, ranging from the California Big Tree to a filter-passing particle.

A. B. V. D

**La Castration Chez l'Homme . . . Recherches sur les Adeptes d'une Secte d'Eunuques Mystiques, les Skoptzy.** By Eugène Pittard. Paris: Masson & Co., 1934. 330 pp., avec 70 figures et graphiques dans le texte. Price 60 fr.

This important contribution to the literature of castration is a record of the observations and conclusions of Professor Pittard among the Skoptzy of Roumania. In his morphological study Professor Pittard sharply distinguishes between those men who were castrated prior to puberty and those on whom the operation was performed later. The former he terms *glabres* and the latter *poilus*. Among the most noted changes in bodily conformation which he remarked among those castrated before puberty were an increased height, due mainly to



a lengthening of the legs; an increase in the length of the arms; and a diminution in the size of the head. In those cases which have been castrated after puberty the most marked characteristics were found to be the development of the breasts and the buttocks, these latter often having the appearance of steatopygia.

In spite of the difficulties experienced in collecting the data, M. Pittard has succeeded in amassing considerable material on this sect, and it is to be hoped that other observations of a like nature may be made on eunuchs so that comparative figures may later be made available.

E. J. DINGWALL.

**Man and Woman: A Study of Secondary and Tertiary Sexual Characters.** By Havelock Ellis. Eighth edition revised. London, Heinemann, 1934. vii + 469 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

When first published over forty years ago, this book proved so fascinating and was of such a length that several readers completed its perusal in one or two sittings. The fascination remains, but the accumulation of data has been such that, despite reduction, by the omission of tables of statistics, the time required for

reading, let alone assimilation, has more than proportionally increased. In most of the topics referred to the data quoted are based on recent researches, though it is interesting to find, particularly in the anatomical section, that the older references perforce remain, as the inquiries have not been repeated, or if repeated the results thereof have not been published.

The range covered by the data is truly wonderful, and as the whole is well documented, and the references to appropriate literature cover an even wider field than the text, the volume is a storehouse to which anyone seeking to follow up some line of sex difference can turn usually for full information or at the worst for a guide towards the goal he seeks.

F. C. SHRUBSALL.

**Contributions to the Principles of Morphology.** W. B. Crow, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S. London: 1929. Pp. viii, 94.

This thesis, submitted for the degree of D.Sc. in the University of London, deals briefly but fairly comprehensively with the theoretical basis of morphology and is recommended to those engaged on phylogenetic problems from the point of view of comparative anatomy.

W. LE GROS CLARK.

#### GENERAL.

**Differenzierungserscheinungen in Einigen Afrikanischen Gruppen: ein Beitrag zur Frage der Primitiven Individualität.** By Sjoerd Hofstra. Amsterdam (Scheltema and Holkema), 1933. viii + 214 pp.

It is not quite easy to say where exactly we stand with the problem of Primitive Individuality. Not so long ago Anthropology, and Comparative Psychology as well, were almost denying the existence of such a thing as Individuality in primitive society. Ideas on the 'collective soul,' on 'primitive communism,' and the pre-individualistic mentality of primitive man, stood to the fore everywhere. Then reaction set in, individuality was vindicated, and the writings of Radin, Le Roy, Lowie, Steinmetz and others, made us see the fallacy of that tempting simple correlation between the two pairs of antagonistic concepts: savage and civilized man, group-mentality and individualism. Yet in certain respects the new situation was no real progress. The problem still appeared over-simplified, the gulf between individual and group had been widened rather than bridged. Either the former antithetic formulation was revived, though with plus and minus signs reversed, or one was apt to lose oneself in mere description of concrete individualities in primitive society. It is no mean asset that the present book on Individuality among African groups can claim to have re-examined this intricate, blurred, theoretical situation, and to have re-stated the problem for a new, systematic analysis. Dr. Hofstra first of all clears the problem of the misleading either-or-attitude. He demonstrates, in careful analysis, the complexity of the concept of Individuality. Nowhere in society are we dealing with a simple, sharp antithesis of, for example, rigid group-structure versus free play of individuality, or of solidarity versus non-solidarity in the group. What we really find is a wide range of differences in the strength and in the type of group-ties (p. 16). Dependence or independence of the individual in the group, on the other hand, varies within one society from province to province of social life (p. 19). Thus the author undertakes to pursue the phenomenon of Individuality right through the whole living culture. In Chieftainship, Marriage-rules, Magic and Religion, Art and Folklore, in every aspect of culture

life, we observe individuality manifest itself in different degrees and in different ways. There is, in fact, no 'Individuality' pure and simple; there are several 'Individualities,' or, speaking more exactly, several possibilities for human Individuality to assert itself in the framework of society. The concept of Individuality itself is cleared of its confusing vagueness. It is understood in a very special and concrete sense, and narrowed down to the phenomenon of Individual Differentiation. And in the formulation of the leading problem, concrete and accessible to empirical examination as it is, the author has undoubtedly made a really important contribution to social methodology. Based on the fact that society itself is selective, differentiating, the main problem (a twofold problem) becomes this: which are the forms of individual differentiation society reckons with, and offers to the individual (through the institutionalized means of social distinctions, rules of etiquette, tabus, etc.); and which are the forms of differentiation which individuals may want to achieve in, or may expect from, society? This leads on to another, related, problem which, no less relevant sociologically, at the same time involves an interesting psychological issue, namely the problem of the interrelation between objectively existing and individually experienced differentiation (p. 38). It is not made quite clear, though, what 'objective' means in this connection; whether it refers to a differentiation established from our, the observer's, point of view, or from the viewpoint of the investigated society itself—I personally should regard the latter as the logically correct interpretation. But to return to the main issue. The balance between these two aspects of individual differentiation, differentiation issuing from society and differentiation issuing from the individual, holds, no doubt, the crux of the problem. This balance must reveal, from the new point of view, what truth there is in that antithetic formulation which reckons with a permanent antagonism between the individual and the group. Dr. Hofstra devotes an excellent chapter to the discussion of this antagonism in the sphere of Religion, as it is expressed in 'scepticism' and 'critical attitude' towards established religious ideas (p. 151 seq.). We may miss, perhaps, the conclusive step of this analysis. We may expect the final systematic



correlation between this deviating attitude of the individual towards the standards of thought and behaviour established in the group, and the amount of free play for individual differentiation allowed in the society. But then, Dr. Hofstra had to confine himself in this book to secondhand sources. He took his material from eight monographs on African tribes which are among the best known and best studied primitive societies. The incongruity of scientific aim and concrete material must render a systematic, perfect elaboration of so ambitious a scientific programme a very difficult task indeed. Dr. Hofstra, when he renews these investigations in his fieldwork, and re-examines the problem on the basis of concrete material of his own, will be able to lead to conclusion all these problems which this book has promisingly opened up.

S. F. NADEL.

**Race, Sex and Environment.** By J. R. de la H. Maret.  
London: Hutchinson, 1935. 342 pp. 21s. net.

**217** The sub-title of this work, "A Study of Mineral Deficiency in Human Evolution," is perhaps most informative regarding its contents. The field of fact and theory is surprisingly wide. The author ranges through soil studies, with the meteorological and geological forces which influence soil composition, the physiology of mineral substances in animals, plants and man, the endocrines and metabolism in Man in their relationship to soil constituents, the genetical interpretation of these differences as applied to animals, and also to the evolution of Man and the differentiation of races. He goes on to consider the history of sex differences in man and other mammals on these bases, and he finally applies similar conceptions in the field of psychology.

The general thesis is that mineral deficiencies of the soil, and of the resulting vegetable food, have influenced animal and human evolution. In its development the author brings to his service many of the current conceptions of endocrine physiology and genetics, and he emphasizes the importance of many factors which are only beginning to be recognized. There is abundant food for thought, especially for the anthropologist and the geneticist. The author is not afraid to speculate, where speculation is necessary to fill gaps in knowledge, but the argument is usually closely knit throughout and shows great skill in marshalling into position facts which have often been regarded as unrelated. We may look forward to interesting further achievements from one who has already produced a volume with so many synthetic ideas.

The general hypothesis, as fully outlined in the first chapter, is that the evolutionary process has been guided by natural selection for an economy of various food-substances; that soils may become deficient or rich in iodine, lime, sodium or other mineral constituents, according to the geological and climatic conditions under which they were formed; that mineral economy has been secured through an increase of sexuality; and that mineral deficiencies affect in various ways the selection for different degrees of sex-linked characters in mammals and man. In man iodine deficiency induces foetalization, lime shortage favours femininity, phosphorus-lack causes slow growth.

In the development of the argument, the hypothesis is adopted that the intra-nuclear environment of the genes is an essential element of their functioning. This conception, applied to the cytoplasm as well, would be equally acceptable to geneticists. The theory of "hostility" between linkage-groups and their relation to "somatic revolutions" is essentially Weismann's germinal selection in modern dress.

On the endocrine side the theory is a development of the views of Keith, in their application not only to human races but also to earlier animal evolution. A study of the structures from which the ductless glands originated in early vertebrates would have added to their significance in this connexion. It is suggested that adaptation to desert life has taken place either through increased activity of the anterior lobe of the pituitary, or through inhibition of the posterior lobe, the long-legged camel being an example of the former method and the dwarfish Bushman of the latter. Man is pictured as arising in response to inbreeding in humid conditions on the slopes of the rising Himalayas, and racial mixture is believed to have begun in the earliest times when man was differentiated into a Northern type adapted to arid conditions and a Southern sub-species adapted to decalcified soils of the tropical rain-belt.

The differentiation of modern races is discussed in similar terms. It is suggested, for instance, that the tissues of the black races have a low concentration of potassium and an excess of sodium, while the yellow peoples are deficient in sodium; that humidity and lime-shortage favour small size, while cold and lack of iodine encourage large size.

By way of criticism, a few slips may be noted. Cephalopods are not fishes (p. 87), and hydrocarbons are not carbohydrates (p. 44). The references to the blood-groups might with advantage have been expanded. The agglutinogens are not absent from Australia nor Iceland, and recent blood-tests of the Pygmies favour their relation to the Negroes rather than the Bushmen. The author of the triple allelomorph theory is Bernstein (p. 320). Keeble's theory of mineral deficiencies in South African soils is not mentioned.

These minor blemishes do not seriously detract from the interest and value of a work which all anthropologists should find most stimulating and suggestive. It should also be read by a wider circle, including students of mineral nutrition in animals and plants and those interested in soils, endocrine glands, Wegener's hypothesis and the basis of psychological differences.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

**We Europeans: a Survey of Racial Problems.** By Julian S. Huxley and A. C. Haddon. With a chapter on Europe Overseas, by A. M. Carr-Saunders. London, 1935. Jonathan Cape. 299 pp. Price 8s. 6d. net.

**218** Questions of race and nationality have been emphasized since the war by the multiplication and intensification of nationalistic aims in Europe and elsewhere; and with increasing contacts of races (or 'ethnic groups' as the authors prefer to call them) throughout the world the problems of racial crossing have become increasingly urgent. These problems, and especially the relation of race to culture and nationality, are discussed having particular regard to the recent Nordic and Aryan controversies. The authors have no difficulty in showing that the term 'race' has been used in many senses and that anthropological conceptions have been frequently misused for political ends. Their discussion of these questions with special reference to Europe is based upon a wide survey of material bearing on the question of race.

Anthropologists will not all agree with the points of view expressed, and it may therefore be best to refer to some matters on which there may be less agreement. The authors make the conventional assumption that all living peoples belong to one species, *Homo sapiens*. This view requires re-examina-



tion in the light of modern genetical and zoological work. The reviewer has expressed the at present somewhat heretical view that living man represents three or more species whose adaptations and numerous physical differences, including duplicate genes, would entitle them to specific rank in any other group of mammals, the old idea of intersterility as a necessary criterion of species having completely broken down. On this point the authors' discussion seems inadequate. They suggest that the main colour varieties of mankind should be regarded as 'geographic races' or subspecies, but that mixed ethnic groups, such as characterize most human populations, represent geographic differentiations of a kind "rather different from anything found in animals" (p. 269). That such a difference is general may well be doubted; for the intensive geographic study of species reveals that the difference between geographic races in animals and in man is merely quantitative.

The frequently-made statement is repeated that the human population of the world will be classified in one way on the basis of hair characters and in different ways on the basis of nasal index or stature or blood groups. This is no doubt true, but no naturalist would think of classifying the species and varieties of any plant or animal group on the basis of a single character, so why should such a method be applied to man. It is stated (p. 264) that the Australian aborigines, though differing from Europeans and primitive in many ways, yet show the same hair character. But this is exactly the kind of cross-relationship between species which naturalists continually have to deal with. It may, in fact, be questioned whether man differs in any respect, as regards differentiation of types, from many polymorphic groups of animals and plants, although his greater powers of wandering, especially in historic times, tend to blur or obliterate many racial differences which were formerly more sharply marked.

In a brief discussion of racial crossing, the authors point out the strong objections to crosses between the primary types of mankind—biological objections because of (1) climatic adaptations, and (2) recombinations of characters and possible disharmonies in later generations; sociological objections because of the very different types of culture involved.

The chapter on Europe overseas, by Professor Carr-Saunders, dealing with racial movements which only began about four centuries ago, can be much more definite and even statistical. In discussing the causes of such changes of type as have occurred in the American population no reference is made to the views of Boas.

This book will be read with interest by all who are concerned with questions of race, especially as they impinge upon national and cultural problems in the modern world, but opinions will differ on many of the views expressed.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

**European Civilization: Its Origin and Development.** By various contributors under the direction of Edvard Eyre. In seven volumes. Volume IV. *The Reformation.* Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 18s. The seven volumes 126s.

MAN is scarcely the place for a detailed review of a large and learned tome dealing with the religious controversies that raged in Europe in the sixteenth century of our era, yet perhaps the subject is not quite so remote for anthropologists as might appear on the surface, since the revolutionary changes brought about by the Reformation serve as an illustration of the sociological effects of the break-up of a religious culture. The attempt to deatheologize the northern half of the continent by the renunciation of the sovereign rule of the Papacy, the abolition of the priesthood and the Mass in many countries, and the establishment of a State Church in England, had a far-reaching influence on the social life of the community. Emancipation from ecclesiastical control undermined the old solidarity in the domain both of culture and of religion, and, except in Germany, where social chaos resulted from the upheaval, national states were created to produce a new structural unity. The medieval synthesis was replaced by a new physical synthesis based on observation and experiment, and the rise of individualism, coupled with Puritan frugality, encouraged thrift and the accumulation of wealth, and developed the spirit of enterprise and industry, all of which became characteristic features of modern capitalism. Therefore, for good or ill, the Reformation was a determining factor in the emergence of a new civilization, and as such it is not without interest for the anthropologist.

In the volume before us the 'Protestant Revolution' and the 'Catholic Reaction' (i.e., the Reformation and Counter-Reformation) are reviewed very ably by Professor Cristiani, who holds the Chair of History in the Roman Catholic University of Lyons, in the opening section, which occupies nearly half the book (348 pages). The rest of the work is devoted to an examination of the "revolt," as the Reformation is termed, in England, Scotland and Ireland, with a final, rather extraneous, dissertation on religious persecution, by Mr. Christopher Hollis. All the contributors, except Professor Powicke, are committed to a negative attitude towards the reforming movement by reason of their theological allegiances, but, nevertheless, they are not lacking in scholarship, and they have much to say that cannot fail to be of interest to the impartial student of human society both in its religious and secular aspects. To-day we are removed far enough from the events of the sixteenth century to be able to see how this social structure withstood the cataclysmic attacks made upon it, and to estimate some of the results of the upheaval. This volume will certainly help to this end, though probably few historians, other than Roman Catholics, would subscribe to all the assertions and deductions. E. O. JAMES.

#### AMERICA.

**Studies in the Process of Change among the American Indians.**

**220** (1) *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: a Study of Cultural Change.* By A. Lesser. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, XVI. New York, 1933. London: Milford. 9½ × 6 in. 337 pp. Price 20s. net.

(2) *The Prophet Dance of the North-west and its Derivatives: the Source of the Ghost Dance.* By L. Spier. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta, 1935. 10½ × 8½ in. 69 pp., map, bibliography.

(3) *The Diabolic Root: a Study of Peyotism, the new Indian Religion, among the Delaware.* By V. Petrullo. Philadelphia, 1934. London: Milford. 8½ × 5½ in. x + 185 pp., illustrations.

(4) *Plenty Coups, Chief of the Crows: the Life Story of a Great Indian.* By F. B. Linderman. London: Faber. N.d. 8 × 5 in. 315 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

(5) *Long Lance: the Autobiography of a Black-foot Indian Chief.* By Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance. With a foreword by Irvin Cobb. London: Faber, 1928. x + 5 in. 303 pp., illustrated. Price 10s. 6d.



(6) **The Downfall of Temlaham.** By Marius Barbeau. Toronto and London: Macmillan, 1928. 8½ x 6½ in. 253 pp., coloured plates. Price 15s. net.

Dr. Lesser's monograph (1) on the Ghost Dance Hand Game (an extract from the results of his general field-work among the Pawnee) contains much new information carefully documented and most attractively conveyed; it is also of considerable methodological importance. Its purpose is "to offer comprehension of an 'institution in terms of change'" (p. 336.) Lesser describes and analyzes "the chief intellectual product" of Pawnee culture in the last forty years, namely, the invented variants of the Hand Game (hidden counter guessing game) arising out of that short-lived renaissance of native culture which took place among the Pawnee, under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance, in the years following 1892. The course of this renaissance, its origins and its ultimate failure, as well as the adoption of the Ghost Dance itself and the cultural significance of that movement, are shown against the background of a well-documented sketch of Pawnee history in the nineteenth century. It is worth while to read Mooney's pioneer study again in the light of what Lesser says. By his study of the developments of the Hand Game, Lesser is led to distinguish a persistent 'core' which is a constant—the technique of the game—from a historical series of concomitants which have proved to be variable and non-essential—gambling, war-party symbolism, Ghost Dance ideology transforming the game into a complex ritual from which (with the decay of that ideology) it relapsed into a mere game and a means of social pleasure (pp. 330, 331).

The institution, as it stands to-day, cannot be understood apart from a painstaking study of the changes which it has undergone. This leads us to Lesser's general contention: that "methodologically, time perspective" or historicity is essential to an understanding of "culture whatever special approach is undertaken." Culture is not a static content, but a dynamic continuum like the rest of the universe. Its state at any moment, as the condition of any element within it, "has multitudinous associations, affects and effects," and has been determined by many factors of which "the greater part have not determinately but accidentally come to play a part. It is impossible to substitute 'intuitional interpretation for the more lengthy and difficult attempt to control actual connections as they happen without sacrificing truth on the altar of pre-conceptions'" (p. 336).

Professor Leslie Spier supplements and corrects Mooney by another historical study (2). The Ghost Dance, which in 1890 spread through the Plains from a source in western Nevada, was not, as Mooney supposed, a wholly new development engendered by the need of the dispossessed and discouraged tribes for a messiah and without historically connected antecedents. It was older than the movement of 1890; older even than the doctrine and dance of an older Paviotso prophet (known to Mooney, and since studied by Kroeber, Spier and Gayton) which spread westward through part of California in 1870. Its ultimate origin was in the North-west, among the tribes of the interior Plateau area. A North-western cult, which Spier names the Prophet Dance, was not only the source of the two Ghost Dance movements, but also of the Smohalla cult, the Feather Religion, and perhaps of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers. The Ghost Dance complex—prophet's visit to the dead, expected return of the dead, renewal of the world and reversal of recent changes, dance of believers to hasten the return of the dead—is shown to be thoroughly at home in the myth and custom of the

North-west. This work is the first of a new series ('General Series in Anthropology') of which Professor Spier is the editor.

Almost contemporary with the spread over the Plains of the Ghost Dance religion with its hope of deliverance and renewal of native culture, appeared the slower popularization of Peyote-eating with its accompanying cult of resignation, detachment, submission and valetudinarianism. As the hopes engendered by the Ghost Dance faded, the vogue of the Peyote religion increased. Mr. Petruccio (3) has made an interesting study of the cult as he finds it among the Delaware of Oklahoma, who learned it from the Kiowa. As in many other tribes which have accepted peyote, the basic 'pattern' of the ceremonies as borrowed from the Kiowa has been kept intact, receiving few or no accretions from the traditional 'patterns' of the Delaware. In particular, the old social framework—family or social ownership of the ceremony, obligation to hold the ceremony periodically—is entirely lacking. The author's analysis of the different parts played by Peyote leaders from two local groups, one more in touch than the other with the faint survivals of the old Delaware religion, is full of interest. So is the evidence for a sort of 'functionalism' in the Indians' own exposition of the cult: for instance (p. 139), "The old Delaware religion is too heavy for us" who are few and weak. It is too difficult; Peyote is "easy in comparison. Therefore, we who are weak" take up this new religion. This is the very objection "raised by the old men to taking it up. But Peyote" knows that the Indians' burden of becoming educated "and at the same time keeping up the old religion is" too heavy. . . . Peyote is to be the Indians' new "religion." Petruccio sums up the Peyote cult as "the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who" realize the inadequacy of their material means to "restore their former world-state."

Three other books, not quite new, but not yet reviewed in *MAN*, may be noticed here as being each in their way a study of American acculturation. There have been many attempts of late years to show us the American Indian from the inside, and many personal narratives, some plain and self-revealing, such as Radin includes in his works on the Winnebago, others more or less 'literary.' *Long Lance* (5) and *Plenty Coups* (4) belong to the latter class. *Long Lance* is written by a full-blood Blackfoot, with a white man's education and a good record as an officer in the Great War, who is at the same time chief of a Blackfoot band and a professional journalist. What gives significance to his narrative is the fact that the experience of his tribe in his own half-lifetime epitomizes the history of Indian-White relations over three centuries. When *Long Lance* was a child, the Blackfoot in Montana were free nomads, not yet wholly at peace with the Crow, the Assiniboiné, the Cree or the Sioux; and stories of a new peril—the white man—were being whispered around their camp-fires. He was a half-grown boy when he first saw and smelled and sickened at the white men and their cows. "A few" years later we boys were in a mission school learning "our ABC's and how to hoe our lands."

*Plenty Coups* professes to be the life story of a Crow chief as related to, and written down by Mr. Linderman. Some of the chief's sociological information has been supplemented, we think, by his white collaborator, who has also had to face the same difficulty as confronts the recorder of folk-tales: how far should Indian material be translated, not merely into English words, but into English style, emphasis, and search for the interesting? Perhaps the best chapter is that on the war of 1875, in which we see the Crow politicians trying to assimilate



the new situation created by the white man to their old system of shifting tribal alliances.

Marius Barbeau's *Downfall of Temlaham* (6) stands on a very different level. It is historical; it is also 'intuitive' in the best sense. Episodes in the clash of cultures between the Skeena River Indians and the white men are shown, with an extraordinary measure of success, as they are seen by the Indian actors in them, through the veil of myth and ceremonial. Perhaps no other recorder has conveyed so well the interpenetration of the accidental—what we call 'real' life—by ceremony and art; the richness, conscious beauty, and fragility of the North-western culture; or the sense of a growing, developing social order cut short before it had done its work. The tentative, precarious substitution of compensation for vengeance, made possible by a carefully maintained atmosphere of dignity and beauty, is shown here as suddenly broken down by the white man's rule-of-thumb enforcement of retributive punishment. The book is illustrated by Langdon Kihn (whose tragic portraits of the Stone River Indians will be remembered) and others.

BARBARA AITKEN.

### Mexico from the Earliest Times to the Conquest.

**221** By Thomas Gann. London: Lovat Dickson, 1936. 206 pp., illustrated. Price 8s. 6d.

This is one of a series described by the publishers as short, well-produced readable books on important archaeological sites, written in each case by the best authority on the subject. The present work quite justifies the description. It provides in a short space a clear and readable summary of the present state of knowledge of the archaeology of Mexico and Central America, intended, not for the specialist, but for those who take an intelligent interest in the subject. The author's personal knowledge of the country and his quiet sense of humour enable him to give a just and well-balanced picture of the old cultures. Some criticism might be made on matters of detail, but this does not detract from the value and interest of the book as a whole.

It is several times stated that the Aztec flayed victims alive, but this is not supported by Sahagun's account of the sacrifice to Xipe, nor by any early writer; it first appears in Torquemada. Also it is practically certain that the Tro-Cortesianus Codex is not post-conquest although it is certainly late. Perhaps the most material statement to which exception might be taken is that the Huastecs and Totonacs both spoke either a dialect of Maya or their language contained a large number of words derived from that tongue. In reality the linguistic position of these two tribes was quite different. The Huastecs spoke a language which is clearly of the same family as the other Maya languages and closely related to them. It has been thought by some that the Totonac language may be related to the Maya, but even if this is so, the relationship is of a remote character and not of the thorough-going kind which subsists between the Huastec and the other Maya languages. It seems incorrect to say that the Totonac were completely ignorant of the calendar. Spinden (*The Reduction of Mayan Dates*, p. 96) has shown that they must have had some form of it. Nor is it correct to say that the Zapotec and Mixtec spoke a dialect of Otomi.

The reviewer is glad to note that Dr. Gann now considers that the Thompson-Teple correlation has perhaps more to recommend it than any other. He thus ranges himself with the steadily increasing number of scholars who formerly, as he did, supported the Spinden correlation, but have now abandoned it.

The book is well illustrated and the works of reference indicated are well chosen.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

### The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas: The Life and Culture of the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador and Peru.

**222** By Rafael Karsten. *Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica*, 1935. 9½ × 6½. 598 pp., plates, 33 illustrations and map.

This book deals with the Jibaro Indians of Ecuador, famous for their art of preserving human heads, and also with the Canelos Indians, who are of partly Jibaro descent, but speak Quichua and are superficially Christianized. Dr. Karsten devotes the first chapters of his work to an account of his travels undertaken in order to obtain the materials for it. Much information of the greatest value is given which must have been very difficult to obtain considering the hostile and suspicious character of the natives, but the author had one great advantage in that he succeeded in learning the Jibaro language and so could collect information at first hand. He deals with every department of native life, but as is perhaps natural, the chapters vary somewhat in value. A very clear and interesting account in a small space is given of the language. The feasts he witnessed are very fully described, and much attention is given to the beliefs of the natives. A point of great interest is the account of the remarkable gambling games ceremonially played by the Canelos Indians on the occasion of a death. The method of preparing human heads is very fully dealt with, and there are good accounts of arts of life in general, but there is a tendency not to give sufficient detail, which makes some of the matter rather difficult to follow.

The account of the calendrical ideas of the natives is very meagre and unsatisfactory, but the most serious shortcoming of the book is in the part devoted to social organization. It is surprising in a modern ethnological work to see such a meaningless expression as "cousins" on the male side, and the words exogamy and endogamy are used as if they referred to marriage relative to the whole community instead of to segments of it. It is possible to learn a certain amount on kinship from the book, but it is very regrettable, indeed, that the social organization has not been thoroughly studied, as we learn from Dr. Karsten that there is a custom of preferential marriage to certain relatives. The book is very well illustrated.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

**223** *Quileute. By Manuel Andrade. Tonkawa, an Indian Language of Texas. By Harry Hoijer. Extracts from Handbook of American Indian Languages, Vol. III. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933; London: Milford, 1934. 10½ × 6½ inches each. Price 10s. net.*

Quileute, affiliated with Chemakum, and exhibiting points of contact with the Wakashan stock, is now spoken by 180 persons on the north-western coast of the State of Washington. Dr. Andrade's investigations correct and enlarge those of Dr. Frachtenburg.

The Tonkawa appear to have been an important tribe living in Central Texas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their language—a rich and beautiful one—is now spoken by only six persons, all of them middle-aged. No linguistic cognates can be proved for Tonkawa, and the languages of the tribes associated with this tribe in culture are extinct. There is possibly a connection with the Coahuiltecan or the so-called Hokan group.

BARBARA AITKEN.

**224** *Mythen in der Muttersprache der Pipil von Izalco in El Salvador. (Indiana II.) By Dr. Leonhard Schultze-Jena. Jena, 1935. Large 8vo. xii + 364 pp., with 12 pls. Price 30 RM. (bound, 32 RM.).*

This important book results from happy co-operation



between the German *Notgemeinschaft der Wissenschaften* and the Committee on Research in American Native Languages, and from the suggestion of Dr. Franz Boas to the author. The Pipil-folk, now in danger of extinction, are the most southerly outlier of a linguistic group whose legends bring them from the arid north of Mexico, probably about the sixth or seventh century A.D., and connect them with the Toltec régime and the ruined temples and pyramids which are illustrated here. The Pipil myths are classified by their content, and give a full and vivid presentation of the beliefs and general outlook of the people, as well as of their mode of life and institutions. But the greater part of this book is philological, and will rank as an important contribution to the study of American languages. J. L. M.

**Alaska Natives.** By H. Dewey Anderson and Walter Crosby Eells. Stanford University Press, 1935. xvi + 472 pp., with 20 plates, 4 maps, 97 figures. Price 22s. 6d.

This careful study of the Alaska Eskimos was originally the idea of Dr. W. J. Cooper, United States Commissioner of Education, 1929-33. It seemed to him wrong that school teaching in Alaska should be on the same system as that provided all over the States. Having obtained a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, he sought for a trained scientist to survey the sociological and educational conditions in Alaska. This he found in Dr. Anderson, Assistant in Education Research at Stanford University. Dr. and Mrs. Anderson (herself an experienced social worker) were in the field for nearly a year, visiting 32 of the 48 Eskimo villages in which government schools were established. They were assisted in the arrangement of their material by Dr. Eells, Professor of Education at Stanford University, who helped to direct the survey.

This book is an interesting example of how sociology can help education. The writers compiled from ethnological writers (e.g., Hrdlicka) an account of Eskimo culture still untouched by white influences, and the first part of the book consists of this account, together with a study of the changes brought about by white contact and white government, with a summary of the present economic and social conditions of the natives. The second part of the book described the existing educational system and makes detailed reports on the schools and the children. This part also contains suggestions for reorganization of white educational methods and their adaptation to native needs, together with helpful recommendations in the departments of law, health and other government activities.

Although the writers take the point of view of educationists, their results are of importance to anthropology. For instance, extensive Binet intelligence tests applied to children in every school visited, show that "there are many Eskimo children who are distinctly superior in measured mental, musical, physical, or mechanical ability (even though handicapped perhaps by unfamiliar types of test) to many white children," e.g., a part-Eskimo girl and a part-Aleut boy "show greater mental ability than that possessed by 98 per cent. of white children" (p. 345). The tests also show "for purposes of practical school organization and administration the two sexes show no significant differences in mental ability" (p. 319).

In purpose and outlook the book is admirable; whether in method and achievement is more doubtful. As a contribution to ethnology it is somewhat disappointing. The writers did not know the language, and they did not spend more than 33 days at the utmost in any village. In spite of a most imposing table of contents, embracing

every aspect of native culture, the facts recorded are meagre. We find very little on rites and customs, e.g., mortuary practices are quoted from John Murdoch without commentary, and there is no explanation of the carved human figures erected on graves in *tundra* villages. Religion is given only a brief section, consisting chiefly of quotations from nineteenth-century explorers, such as Petroff and Dall, who were not anthropologists. The linguistic side is ignored, except in remarks as to the Eskimos' use of English, and statistics giving their ability to speak that language. The writers' deep affection for intelligence tests, statistics, tables of figures, summaries of opinions of white residents, and carefully graded marking of the natives' alleged qualities of modesty, courage, etc., seems somewhat to blind them to the necessity of actually knowing and studying the natives themselves.

The recommendations made by the writers are on fruitful lines. They deplore the decay in native arts and crafts, and recommend much more encouragement of the delightful ivory carving (exquisite specimens of which were recently seen at the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition). They also deplore the gradual elimination of native folklore and myth by modern American stories. Their educational recommendations are sound, and their general fairmindedness and sympathy should be of great help to the country. On page 150 they quote valuable instances of the extreme unfairness of legal administration to natives who can speak little English, and whose customs and mental processes are misunderstood by unintelligent white lawyers. A. B. V. DREW.

**Form in Primitive Music.** By Helen H. Roberts. *The American Library of Musicology Contemporary Series, Volume Two*; New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1933.

This is an attractive work, compiled with almost meticulous care and precision in order to rescue from oblivion some 25 songs, said to have belonged to the former and extinct Catalina Islanders of South California. The records of the songs were made personally by the author in Pala, and the words were sung and translated for her by some of the older inhabitants of the district. A general survey of the contents of the book at once produces a favourable impression; the arrangement of the material is so clear and methodical that the omission of an Index—so indispensable to the investigator—comes as a shock.

One especially valuable feature of the work is the careful transcription, from the records, of the melodies with the shades of intonation, and in the original tonality, whether these variations be regarded as mere 'deflections' from the truer pitch' or with greater vision as signs of a scale as yet unfamiliar. Helen H. Roberts has wisely rejected a practice—all too common and greatly to be deplored—among collectors of Folk-Song, of transposing all the tunes into one common tonality, thus setting at variance the intimate relationship that exists between mood and emotion as expressed through tonality and modality. The author has, however, found the proper use for this common factor in her statement of the scale of each of the songs. The most weighty focus of the melody has in each scale been assigned to C, invested with the value of a semibreve; the intervallic relation of the other notes to the focus is then indicated by chromatic notes, to which are added signs denoting the deflections sharpening or flattening the pitch. The author has detected in all the songs a second melodic focus, noted as a minim. This is a step in the right direction which should be widely adopted.



But Helen H. Roberts, perhaps because she has made no study of musical instruments and their influence on scale and mode, has no light to throw on the highly interesting basis of the songs of the Indians of South California, beyond the well-worn pentatonic with its species. Here an arresting implication arises, viz.: the two foci she has rightly detected in the tunes furnish unmistakable clues to their modality—not in the sense of the Ecclesiastical Modes, but of those real, but still unrecognised, modes derived from pipes and flutes, which have been in common use among all races in all ages; and it is recorded that the Catalina and Gabrielino Indians used flutes with 4 and with 6 holes. Yet the minor thirds associated with the pentatonic are in evidence in several of the songs. We thus have

a twofold origin indicated: and I suggest that the pentatonic usage, with its unavoidable and appealing minor thirds, learnt by contact with the Pan-pipe players of Ancient Mexico or of the Pacific Isles, has been superimposed on a pure modal basis: of this, Song No. 1 forms a good example. When one considers the text of the songs, consisting of almost inarticulate indications of feelings, aspirations and thoughts, with their numerous repetitions, it is difficult to take seriously the highly sophisticated and involved analysis of the music which is treated by the author as deliberate composition, whereas the songs clearly originated as spontaneous outpourings, which have passed with occasional additions from generation to generation in some Indian family. KATHLEEN SCHLESINGER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Hormones and Evolution. (Cf. MAN, 1936, 180.)

**227** Sir,—In the summary of Dr. S. Zuckerman's otherwise well-reasoned paper on Hormones and Evolution (*Man*, 1936, 180) he errs, I consider, in regarding certain speculations of my own, and of another writer, as 'dangerous' and 'based on the extrapolation of experimental data from fields to which they apply' to others far removed from scientific enquiry. Replying for myself only, I would like to point out that speculation as such is no crime, but must rather remain a prime necessity so long as science proceeds from preliminary induction to verification. As for its admitted danger, this only arises if the speculative nature of a given assumption be lost to view. Dr. Zuckerman, indeed, provides me with an excellent illustration of this dangerous pitfall by obligingly blundering into it himself. This lapse on his part is due to his emphasis on the supposed fact that the anterior-lobe of the pituitary elaborates several principles. With this shaky weapon he thrusts confidently at a windmill of theory revolving about the presupposition that the gland in question secretes only one active substance capable of stimulating metabolism in different regions of the body. Now he may or may not be proved right about the capacity of the two sorts of anterior-lobe cell to secrete the several specifically active substances that have emerged as extracts from the test-tubes of the bio-chemists. Nevertheless, in view of a recent authoritative suggestion (Sir Walter Langdon-Brown: *The Integration of the Endocrine System*, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 30 & 31), he should at least have made some mention of the alternative possibility that this plurality of supposed pituitary principles is largely artificial; a complex natural substance having unwittingly been named by violent methods of chemical extraction, so that each supposed hormone is but a damaged remnant capable of performing some, but not all, of its original functions.

So much then for Dr. Zuckerman's warning concerning this danger inherent in all speculation. Now, as regards his further charge of 'extrapolating experimental data', etc., may I be permitted to try and illustrate the possible advantages of ranging wide when in search of the data of fresh hypothesis? Taking, then, my own theory of Negroid evolution, to which Dr. Zuckerman does me the honour to refer, this was constructed from a variety of gleanings, some of them ecological, and many of them the fruits of endocrinological research, of which, admittedly, I have but a second-hand acquaintance. In any case, the essential point of this theory is that the Negro, when compared with the yellow-skinned Bushman, and probably with members of the Mongoloid and even White groups as well, is supposed to have inherited a

greater capacity to store sodium within the skin and also to guard its loss through the kidney. To check this might not be easy, but it would be possible. Only if this test gave positive results would the lesser parts of the theory—for instance, the supposed reciprocal compensation of the adrenal-cortex and anterior-lobe, used to explain the pigmentation in Addison's disease—merit serious experimental investigation.

Permit me, however, in conclusion, to congratulate Dr. Zuckerman upon the clarity of his exposition and to thank him especially for his valuable reiteration that "The endocrine system, using the term in its widest possible sense, is but a medium through which evolutionary change is expressed,"—presumably through natural selection. Further, he does well to deny the existence of any evidence to show that, however much, or little, the endocrine system of the individual may be subject to environmental modification, we have as yet no clear evidence that this provides a short cut to the modification of the germ-plasm. Finally, in the stress that he likewise lays upon the evolutionary importance of differences in tissue-receptivity, he underlines a most important, and badly neglected, point of theory, and helps, I believe, to open the way for an advance in observational technique, which, in racial physiology, has dallied overlong with the almost single, if promising, method of blood-grouping. Whether (as I suspect) or not there exists a tendency to a close linkage between genes primarily responsible for endocrine secretion and others chiefly engaged in the reception of such stimuli by the tissues, the experimental investigation of racial differences of endocrinology might well be advanced by measuring the various physiological (and indeed psychological) reactions resulting from the administration of standardized injections of endocrine extracts to groups of different racial origin. J. R. DE LA H. MARETT.

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### The Swaheli and their Culture.

**228** Sir,—An article on 'The History and Coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa' by Mr. John Walker in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. V, vol. xvi, may be regarded as the first serious attempt towards tracing the origin of the present day Swaheli from historical evidences. The genealogies show the origin of the Kilwa branch of the Swaheli with whom the Kings of Melinde and other native rulers intermarried. The Pate Shirazi formed another branch and their dynasty lasted until the XIXth century.

As so little of East African history is at present known the paper is of great value to all interested in East African cultures. ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.



Some Tuareg Ornaments. (Cf. J.R.A.I. lxxv. (1935). pp. 297-310.)

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SIB.—The *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LXV. (1935), pp. 297-310, contains some most interesting and instructive articles by Mr. Arkell and Mr. Francis Rodd on certain Tuareg ornaments; their probable origin; and place of manufacture. From an ethnographic point of view, the subject is of first rate importance, for if the origin of Tuareg ornament can be conclusively determined, that would go far to solve the problem of the genesis of the Tuareg themselves; but uniformity of detail in a habitat which extends from the Nile to the Atlantic almost, is hardly to be expected, and informants vary in their statements according to their locality of origin and experience, and their varied use of terminology. It is indeed very difficult to be sure that the actual design of any of these ornaments has a name exclusively and properly belonging to itself. Thus the so-called Agades cross is called both by Mr. Arkell and Mr. Rodd *tamaghilt*—a name which as sounded by my informants was definitely *tanéghult*, and was connected by them with the Hausa word *nerki* 'to melt,' as meaning only that the cross was made of wrought metal.

That Mr. Arkell's Darfur informants should say that *tamagh* (its ordinary name among certain clans of Tuareg) means 'belonging to the ruling class' is significant and interesting. It is true, but if true, only affords additional proof that for the purposes of these enquiries, we are only concerned with the Imaghara or nobles. The question is, where did the Imaghara get these ornaments in olden days, and what was their significance to them—the nobles? Furthermore, the fact that *tamagh* is now said to mean 'belonging to the nobles' may not be the whole truth, for *Méshi* or *Mési*, the Tamashek word for 'lord' 'master,' is apparently only a variant of the Nubian and Meroitic *Mash* 'the sun 'god.' It is possible that the *tamagh* was the 'property 'of the nobles,' because they were the children of the 'sun 'god' (*Mési* or *Mash*), and to me at any rate it seems probable that both this *tamagh* cross and the allied form of cross called *tanamit* worn by the Tuareg, are symbols of sun or fire worship, formerly practised by the *Imagharaun* (veiled nobility). Their basic motif is the triangle, not the 'cross' as such. The three triangles in the one case, and in the other the two triangles with three pendants, are merely suspended by the ring in the one case, and the triangle in the other. The former may very well be as Mr. Rodd thinks, connected with the *ankh* as a life symbol, whereas the latter seems, from its name, to have been associated by the Imaghara with Adan, that is to say, Ancient Arabia or Mesopotamia.

I agree that the '*talhakim*' or '*talagunt*' ornament in its original form was probably a 'ring,' but I feel doubt whether it should be regarded as peculiarly Tuareg, in the sense that *tamagh* and *tanamit* are. This ornament has a wide sale among the Kanuri and Hausas, and the names for it attributed to Hausa pilgrims, *talhatana* and *talhatuna*, show that some Hausas regarded it as a form of 'seal' or 'signet-ring' (*Natumi* in Hausa).

The connection with Cambay is arresting, for the trade in these articles from India to the Sudan and Sahara doubtless goes back to most ancient times. "A former export from Cambay by Moghul merchants to Jedda, Egypt and Persia," is mentioned by Mr. Arkell—a trade which cannot altogether be regarded as irrelevant to the mass of Tuareg and Bornu tradition which connects their earliest Imaghara or Maghumi (nobles) with Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia.

Like Mr. Rodd I have never heard of the *tsagur* 'ear pendant' as being used by the Tuareg. On the other hand I

have a dim recollection of seeing something of the sort among the Kanembu of the Chad region. H. R. PALMER.

Myth and Ritual. (Cf. MAN, 1936, 87).

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SIR.—In MAN, 1936, 87, Professor H. J. Rose, reviewing my book *The Labyrinth* suggests that I am tilting at windmills in my essay on *The Myth* in that collection. He assures us that classical teaching has long ago ceased to deserve the reproach of divorcing myth from ritual; that classical scholars have long been aware of an intimate connection between the two. When I find Professor W. R. Halliday taking the same line in *The Guardian* I can only conclude that the essay in question was not lucid, and I may be allowed a little space to clear up the obscurity.

Professor Rose is evidently under the impression that I was trying to demonstrate the ætiological myth, in which case his stricture that the ætiological myth has all along been quite familiar to classical scholars would be deserved. The essay was however, intended to destroy the theory of an ætiological myth. The thesis was that the myth is simply a description of ritual; and the implication was that it cannot be ætiological, since by that term we mean something invented to explain. A description of a procedure cannot be said to have been invented to explain it. That also answers Professor Halliday's claim that classical scholars are fully alive to the fact that ritual sometimes gives rise to myth and myth sometimes gives rise to ritual. If the myth is a description of ritual it cannot give rise to ritual. If there are myths that give rise to ritual, where do those myths come from? Out of man's imagination, or subconscious? We seem to be back at the old idea of a mythopoeic faculty throwing off myths like sparks from a fire. The only difference seems to be that formerly all myths arose in this manner, now only fifty per cent. If that is the present standpoint of classical scholars, I was not tilting at windmills after all.

Put briefly, the aim of the obnoxious essay was to replace this vague and complicated theory of the classicists by a very simple and precise one, that myths are based on fact, and that the facts are customary actions such as it is convenient to call ritual, pending a better term. The problem then is not to explain the myth, but to explain the ritual. The myth is no more mysterious than *The Times*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, or any other records of human behaviour.

Professor Rose is willing to admit that this may be true in certain cases, but denies us the right to generalize from them to all myths. That shows how deep a gulf separates scholarship and science. The scholar, like the lawyer, is accustomed to prove each particular case, because he deals in particulars. The scientist does not think it necessary to prove gravitation in the case of every falling object. The task of proving gravitation would otherwise be infinite, and never be completed. Where would science be if it had embarked on this mad adventure? And where is the science of man going to be if it insists that any theory of myth must be proved on every myth, *saga*, *märchen*, tale, pantomime, mystery, that ever has been? It will only get somewhere if it is content to test its hypothesis on a wide variety of cases, and to show that they explain the facts as they had never been explained before. The hypothesis that myth is merely a description of ritual at present fulfils those conditions, and no better alternative has yet been put forward; by better I mean one that explains more facts more simply. It is up to Professor Rose to be the Einstein of the theory, to produce a *märchen* or *saga* that cannot be explained on these lines, and to produce a theory that will explain both the old examples and the new exceptions.

A. M. HOCART.



**Two Scarabs found in Wiltshire.** (Cf. MAN, 1935, 131).

**231** Sir.—There has been a good deal of scepticism about the genuineness of the actual finding of the two imitation scarabs on Salisbury Plain. In spite of the fact that the scarabs were not genuine ones, they really were found in the ground at two different places. In January, 1935, I spent some days on the spot in order to ascertain the exact facts once and for all, and my report appears in the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, Vol. xlvii, pp. 412-419.

P. L. COLLIGNON.

*The Quarry, Northleigh, Oxon.*

**Pigmies in New Guinea.** (Cf. MAN, 1936, 121).

**232** Sir.—You have published in MAN, 1936, No. 121, a very interesting account of Lord Moyne's expedition, and a picture of the Aione pigmies on the middle Ramu. You do not mention another group of pigmies, which I happened to encounter in the area between the lower-middle Sepik and the coastal range. There are some large villages inhabited by them and fine yam gardens in the vicinity. I observed that about two-thirds to three-quarters of the inhabitants of a village are of pigmy type, whereas the rest show the 'average' features of a 'Melanesian.' They speak a non-Melanesian language. This seems to indicate that a hybridization has occurred some time ago. I was unable to state whether a social system exists which perhaps limits the marriage of some groups.

Fig. 1 shows a group of these pigmies around a white man who accompanied me for some distance from the Sepik; Figs. 2 and 3 a group at another village farther away from the Sepik towards the coastal range. In this group men are intentionally combined, who are unequally tall.



FIG. 1. MIXED 'PIGMY' TYPES, WITH A WHITE MAN: SEPIK RIVER.

In this connection I may also mention the existence of a village of albinos. I saw about six persons of a 'medium' albino type (light complexion such as of a South Italian, light brown eyes, and dark brown hair on the head) on the banks of the Green River between the upper Sepik and the coastal range.

I reported all this in the *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 1914-19 and in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1919. But since these publications appeared during and immediately after the war they escaped notice.

RICHARD C. THURNWALD.  
*Big Shanty Camp, North River, Warren County, New York State, U.S.A.*



FIG. 2. MIXED 'PIGMY' TYPES SEPIK RIVER, NEW GUINEA.



FIG. 3. MIXED 'PIGMY' TYPES SEPIK RIVER, NEW GUINEA.









FIGURE 1.



FIGURE 2.



FIGURE 3.

HUMAN SKULLS FROM TELL DUWEIR WITH PRIMITIVE SURGICAL HOLING.



# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Physical.

With Plate M.

Starkey.

**DISCOVERY OF SKULLS WITH SURGICAL HOLING AT TELL DUWEIR, PALESTINE.** *By J. L. Starkey, Director of the Wellcome Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East.*

**233** During the clearance of the cemetery area at the base of the North-west corner of Tell Duweir, many tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty and Judean kingdom period were found, excavated in the limestone. In many cases the weak roof of 'nari' rock had collapsed subsequently and fallen into the cavern below. The chambers are so closely packed in this area that they are sometimes superimposed and often adjoin one another.

In 1934 a roughly circular chamber No. 107 was cleared, which contained a deposit of human remains much damaged by fire. At the same time a larger rectangular cavern No. 120 was located, but it was not then advisable to intrude so far into the cultivation of the valley, so that it was only this season that the excavators cleared down into the upper levels through the broken roof. The top layer consisted of many animal bones, mostly pig, and this refuse should be ascribed to the latter half of the Judean kingdom. It is even tempting to suggest, in view of the deposit below, that the pig bones were thrown in at the time of the Assyrian occupation, as it is known from the Royal correspondence found at Nineveh that Lachish was put under an Assyrian governor.

The lower or main deposit consisted of a mass of bones, the remains of at least 1,500 bodies. As they were pitched in through the hole in the broken roof, the skulls rolled down from the apex of the pile to the sides of the chamber.

Strewn throughout the deposit were sherds of domestic pottery, and some burnished vessels; most of the smaller specimens were perfect, and may have been offerings made by surviving relatives. The pottery was consistently VIIIth-VIIIth century B.C. in date.

Some bones were partially calcined, suggesting that they were abstracted from burnt buildings, and this evidence was particularly striking in the adjoining tomb deposit cleared in 1934. Careful supervision of the clearance failed to establish that any crania were in articulation with vertebrae, and the jaws were rarely attached, in fact, no order was to be seen in the jumbled mass.

It seems probable that this ossuary was directly connected with the salvage of Lachish after the partial destruction by Sennacherib, King of Assyria in 701 B.C.

When floor level was reached it became clear that the tomb had been previously used as



POTTERY FROM OSSUARY AT TELL DUWEIR.



a dwelling, a door had been cut at the N.W. corner, connecting the smaller circular tomb with it, which contained the five hundred bodies discovered in 1934. From the style of both chambers it is certain that they were originally excavated to contain early XVth century burials.

Seventy skulls were brought to London from the 1934 deposit and five hundred and fifty from this year's great cache; in a total of over six hundred, three at least have been trepanned, and a minute study of the whole series by experts may reveal many other interesting peculiarities.

#### Physical.

Wilson Parry.

**THREE SKULLS FROM PALESTINE SHOWING TWO TYPES OF PRIMITIVE SURGICAL HOLING; BEING THE FIRST SKULLS EXHIBITING THIS PHENOMENON THAT HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED ON THE MAINLAND OF ASIA.** By T. Wilson Parry, M.D., B.Ch., F.S.A.

**234** Among the treasures recovered from Tell Duweir (Lachish), Palestine, during the season 1935-1936, under the auspices of the Wellcome Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East, were three human skulls, each exhibiting primitive surgical holing of the vault. These three specimens are the first to be found in Palestine, and, indeed, as far as we can say, on the mainland of Asia. Not only is this an exceptional discovery, but two of the skulls show the same type of primitive operation that up to the present has only been found in a part of South America, Peru, the ancient land of the Inca and pre-Inca races. That this operation should only be found in such widely separated portions of the globe as South America and Palestine, is an anomaly that will have to be explained either on the one hand, by the theory of migration, or, on the other, and which in these circumstances is probably the more likely, by a spontaneous instinct separately conceived by the Inca and Canaanite civilizations without outside knowledge.

The method employed in each case was that of sawing out a quadrilateral button of bone. Among the Inca tribes this proved to be most unsatisfactory, not a single individual, of all the specimens hitherto unearthed in Peru, surviving the operation for more than at most about a couple of weeks or so. The Inca tribes used stone implements, which has been definitely determined by the fact that when Peru was conquered by that Spanish adventurer Pizarro in the year 1532, the only metals known to the Incas were gold, silver and some copper, none of which either separately or combined would have been hard enough for manufacturing serviceable saws. The nineteen crania, excavated from an Inca cemetery and described by Dr. Manuel Muniz and W. J. McGee, were all operated upon by stone implements.

The principle on which the operation was founded was quite wrong. As both the cranium and the brain beneath are of a globular nature, it is clearly evident that in a sawing operation for the removal of a rondel of bone, the centres of the incisions must penetrate the cavity of the cranium deeper than at the ends. The results of this were that the *dura mater* could not escape injury, and, indeed, the operating implement would be pretty certain to injure the brain itself to the extent perhaps of several millimetres in depth.

*Figure 1.*—A well preserved skull, sutures clearly defined, would probably have belonged to a young man of Canaanitish origin. Over the posterior superior angle of the right parietal is placed a primitive surgical holing. It consists of four sawings and represents, roughly, a design similar to that made in the game of 'noughts and crosses.' The transverse lines are parallel but directed in an upward direction towards the sagittal suture. The superior one of these two lines measures 3.7 cm., the inferior 4.5 cm., while the parts bordering the aperture are 1.7 cm. and 2.1 cm. respectively. The antero-posterior lines are not parallel, the outer one measures 4.7 cm. and the inner 4.6 cm., while the central parts of these lines bounding the foramen are 2.25 cm. and 2.4 cm. respectively. The edges of all these lines are sharply defined, as if they had been newly cut. The bone of this part of the skull is about 6 mm. thick, about 5 mm. of which is taken up by a very dense outer table of the skull, the diploe being reduced to a very thin layer. Towards the posterior inferior angle of the left parietal on this skull is an incision 3.1 cm. long, indicating that the primitive surgeon had thought of placing the operation on the other side of the skull, but decided on second thoughts to do it where it now lies.

*Figure 2.*—This skull belongs to an oldish



man, the sutures in some parts being almost obliterated. It is thinner than the other, being 4-5 mm. thick. The area of the operation is situated almost centrally over the lambdoid suture, but most of it lies in the left parietal region over its posterior superior angle. The interest of this operation consists in there being five very distinct incisions, while in Figure 1 skull the indications of a fifth can only just be traced. The full length of the superior and inferior cuts are both 3.5 cm., while the parts bordering these incisions are 2.2 cm. and 2.1 cm. respectively. The outer and inner antero-posterior lines of incision are 4 cm. and 4.5 cm. respectively, while the length of the lines bordering the opening are 1.9 cm. and 2.1 cm. There is no sign in either of these skulls of reparation of the cut portion, which implies that the subject of the operation either died at the finish of the surgeon's task or shortly after. Mention has already been made of the sharp edges of the cuts. Had any healing taken place these edges would have become rounded in proportion to the length of time the individual had lived after the operation. Examination of the cut bone with a lens exhibits no indication of any new bone having been formed as would have been the case had any reparation been established.

*Figure 3.*—This skull is well preserved as regards its bony structure, but is much fractured. These fractures are chiefly, if not entirely, *post-mortem* in character.

Upon the right parietal there has been performed a primitive surgical operation for removal of part of the bone. The type of this proceeding is quite different to that employed in the two previous skulls; it is more akin to the European type of scraping and gave the patient a much greater chance of surviving the operation and becoming cured.

The sagittal suture is 12 cm. in length and from its mid-point, 3 cm. outwards, is discovered the exact centre of a line 1.7 cm. long which runs parallel to the suture. This small line forms the base of an inverted isosceles triangle which measures 5.2 cm. from base to apex. This triangle marks out the boundaries of a three-sided hole whose edges present a smooth and rounded appearance. Immediately to the outer part of the base line of this triangle is a groove in the bone posteriorly and there is also, if a careful scrutiny be made, a definite but more

faintly marked rut in alignment with this groove on the anterior edge of the foramen, suggesting that a stone saw has been employed in this region. The two grooves with intervening space convert this base line into a single one of 2.9 cm. in length, the part between the anterior and posterior edges of the hole being 1.7 cm., and remaining this width for a short distance down this triangle.

Now it can be judged from the above-mentioned hole, with its smooth and rounded edge, that there has been a wound of the bone here and this has completely healed, the owner of the skull recovering from his operation to die, probably much later, from some other cause.

As a rule, in Europe, the edges of an artificially made hole show a sloping of the sides of the hole from the outer towards the centre of the foramen—first at the expense of the outer table of the skull, then the *diploë*, and, lastly, of the vitreous layer. The condition here shows that the scraping of the bone with a flint implement is not so evident in the Palestine as in the French or British Neolithic specimens.

I should sum up this condition as having been due to a depressed fracture of the parietal bone of a roughly triangular shape. The base of the depressed part, where joined to the rest of the parietal bone, appears to me to have been sawn across, thus liberating the triangular fragment, which has been raised and removed leaving behind it a triangular hole to correspond with the fragment that has had to be removed.

That such a specimen of primitive surgical workmanship should have been found at Tell Duweir (Lachish), in Palestine, and, indeed, out of the mainland of all Asia as far as it has been explored, is a revelation that vastly widens our horizon of the extent of knowledge respecting the inhabitants of that region as regards their efforts in primitive surgery, and is suggestive of how much more may yet be discovered by patient excavation and research.

The dating of the Inca operations is most uncertain. All we can say is that they took place before the date of the conquest of Peru which happened in 1532. These Palestine skulls, however, can be accurately dated, which is of exceptional value, and Mr. J. L. Starkey, Director of the Expedition, has described the historical associations of these deeply interesting primitive surgical operations (MAN, 1936, 233, above).



Oceania.

Roth.

**A NOTE ON THE FIJIAN 'FIRE-WALKING' CEREMONY FROM AN ETHNOLOGICAL STANDPOINT.** *By Kingsley Roth.*

**235** The account of the Fijians' 'fire-walk' written from the medical point of view and published in the *British Medical Journal* (28 December, 1935), constitutes, if I may be permitted to say so, a valuable contribution to the material recorded on 'fire-walking' by Fijians, and one which has been long awaited by students of Fijian customs.

It is unfortunate that the term 'fire-walk' has come to be used to describe what is actually a ceremony in which fire has a part only in the preliminary proceedings: it would, I suggest, be more aptly called the 'hot-stone walk.' The dialectal name of the ceremony among those who practise it is *vilavila i revo*, which may be translated the 'jumping into the earth-oven.'

I have described the 'fire-walk' of the Fijians in *MAN*, 1933, 49, but as a result of having read the article in the *British Medical Journal* quoted above I venture to add the following comments on the explanations there offered for the thermal anaesthesia and the immunity to burns enjoyed by these 'fire-walkers.'

The Fijians who practise this custom are blood members of a social group known as the *yavusa* of Sawau, who inhabit a part of Mbengga island. *Yavusa* is the Fijian word for a social division of the people and is not to be interpreted as the equivalent of the word 'tribe' or 'clan' as defined by the British Association Committee in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*. Both men and women perform the 'fire-walk' provided they are members of this social group of Sawau.

Nothing whatever is done or applied to the feet of the performers, either in their normal daily life or prior to the 'fire-walk.' The ceremony is practised three or perhaps four times a year nowadays, and it is practised only for purposes of exhibition before distinguished European visitors or as a means of raising money whereby the performers can pay some of their taxes. It is performed more frequently in recent years through the decline of native authority, the power of the chiefs having been largely transferred to Government officers: in former times it was performed only once a year, viz., when the 'Dracaena' root was ripe.

'Dracaena' is a plant common in Fiji and has an edible root which is used in Fijian cookery to

sweeten certain kinds of puddings. At the close of the 'fire-walk' bundles of these roots are heaped on to the hot stones and after being covered over with leaves and earth are left there for four days to be cooked in the earth-oven. No other kind of food is cooked in an earth-oven in which the stones have been used for a 'fire-walk.'

The practice of cooking 'Dracaena' roots seems to me to justify the ceremony being considered as a first-fruit rite: it is a common custom among the Fijians to present the first food crops of the season to the chief of the social group.

With regard to the invocation made by the performers before the 'fire-walk' to the spirits of their ancestors it cannot, I think, be assumed that this act of propitiation is responsible for a hypnosis in the performers who take part in it. After living and working among the Fijians for seven years, during which period I have taken considerable note of their customs, I should say that hypnotic or religious ecstasy is foreign to their mental make-up. I know of no instance in their customs analagous to hypnotism and I think I am right in saying that there is no word in their dialects which describes such a state of mind, but I would like to mention the following two customs which may bear on the subject under discussion.

All Fijians are now Christians. Before their conversion they worshipped the spirits of their ancestors: a religion which, so far at any rate as concerned the Fijians, did not call for occasions wherein its devotees induced in themselves for any purpose a state of mental insensibility to their surroundings. It was customary in the days before the arrival in Fiji of European civilization for their priests, who constituted a sub-division in the social group, to be required by the chiefs to foretell events of the future. The priests are reputed to have worked themselves up into an attitude of mind in which they were oblivious to their environment, and it was then that the spirit of the ancestors of the social group was supposed to communicate to the chiefs and people, through the medium of the priest, the likely trend of events. In fact, however, this behaviour of the priests was merely a very clever piece of acting, or, in other words, simply make-believe, which nevertheless successfully deceived



those before whom it was performed. This instance is cited here because the view is held by some students that the attitude of the Fijian priests is to be understood as a hypnosis. With this view I do not agree.

There is a custom well known among the Fijians, and formerly much practised, although nowadays of infrequent occurrence, in which one person, having malicious intentions towards another, casts a spell over that second person, who, without having anything organically wrong with him, proceeds to languish and may die. I have knowledge of at least half a dozen of such cases, but the custom is prohibited under Government law, and it is rare for a case to come before a court, and my experience has been gained mostly from conversations with reliable informants. The position as regards the second person is, that if he believes that a spell can cause his sickness, and perhaps death, he will become sick and possibly die; and, conversely, if he does not believe in the potency of the spell nothing from the source of the spell will affect his well-being. The period taken for a spell to work and cause a death may be several weeks, months, or even longer, according to circumstances. I leave more experienced students than myself to decide whether these are cases of hypnotism. If they are, an interesting comparison is to be drawn with the explanation numbered 6 in the article in the *British Medical Journal* under reference. If they are not, I think another line of argument must be sought to explain the immunity to burns shown by the 'fire-walkers' when they perform their feat.

I prefer not to compare the 'fire-walk' of this group of Fijians with that performed by the

East Indians, who most obviously do it while in a highly emotional state of mind and who are temperamentally a different people from the Fijians. The Indian 'fire-walk'—really a walk through a bed of hot ashes—is practised in Fiji and a note regarding its performance was published in *MAN*, 1933, 80.

The fact that the Fijians invariably offer the propitiatory prayer before performing the ceremony of 'fire-walking' inclines one to regard it as an indispensable part of the proceedings but I have an open mind as to whether their feet would suffer if the prayer were omitted, assuming, that is, that they could be persuaded to do the 'fire-walk' without such preliminary—and I doubt if they could be so persuaded.

On the strength of the above statements it may perhaps be argued that any Fijian can perform the 'fire-walk' provided that the soles of his feet are whole, *i.e.*, not cracked or cut, that the walk occupies only a few seconds, and that he has confidence to undertake the walk. The Sawau people say that they can safely lead one of their fellows, not a member of their group, over the stones provided such a patient believes that he can be led over them without suffering a burnt sole. It is on record that patients have submitted to such a test but have been burnt. And it is not surprising to anyone acquainted with the Fijians that those outside the Sawau group do not offer themselves for the test, because, first, they are probably a little scared; and, secondly, they are by nature too courteous to wish to 'butt in' on a custom the power to perform which rests entirely in the hands of a group of their fellows.

#### Oceania.

Firth.

#### TATTOOING IN TIKOPIA. By Dr. Raymond Firth.

**236** While engaged in a study of the kinship and religious life of the people of Tikopia I made a few observations on their tattooing. Brief though these notes are they may be worth putting on record as an indication of the sociological setting of the practice in this primitive Polynesian community.<sup>1</sup>

Tattooing is applied by the Tikopia in less systematic fashion than by some other Polynesian peoples. The breast in men and the jaws in women are ornamented in a definite fashion, and

in some detail, but apart from this there is no intensive concentration on any specific area of the body surface. Elements of design may be applied to face, breast, back, shoulders, back of the hands, upper arms, knees and ankles. In contrast to the practice in Samoa the waist to knee area rarely receives any tattooing, and the small amount of attention paid to the face in men contrasts with the elaborate face *moko* of the ancient Maori. Unlike the Maori again the buttocks of men are not ornamented. There is

<sup>1</sup> A summary account of the culture of the Tikopia has been given in *Oceania*, I, 1930; a detailed analysis

of their social structure is given in *We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*.



no tattooing of the genital region of either sex.

The Tikopia word for tattoo marks in general is *tau*, and the operation of tattooing is known as *ta tau*, *ta* being the generic term for the act of striking. It refers to the technical process involved. Tattooing is usually done by recognized experts (*tufuga ta tau*), who have obtained their reputation through favourable comment passed by people upon the skilful treatment of their subjects. Such an expert is often a craftsman in other activities as well; if a Tikopia has technical skill in the handling of tools he can apply his energies in as many directions as he wishes; no trades are closed to him. But an expert has often been assisted by knowledge of the art having been transmitted in his family.

One of my informants learnt from his father and also from his mother's brother; another was taught by his grandfather, though his father also was a tattooing expert and a canoe-builder. The family of a third had been tattooers for generations. His father and grandfather were noted for their skill. When I asked him if he had learnt from his father he said "Yes, but it depends also 'on the knowledgeable mind.'" By this he meant a certain amount of natural aptitude.

A person who wants to be tattooed goes to any expert he fancies. Frequently he asks a close relative to operate upon him, but he may pass over such a man and go to another. For instance, when I was there a young man, Futikena, did not go to his father's brother, Pa Tarikitonga, a well-known practitioner, but to Pa Taraoro, a man of different clan. He gave as a reason that the tapping-stick of the former was heavy; that is, the tattooing implement was struck too hard, so that the operation was painful. This he had heard from other people, he said, and so preferred to go outside the family circle. Firimori, the small son of Pa Nukufuri, had three fish motifs, one on his forehead and one on each cheek, tattooed by his father's brother, Pa Paiu. "The 'stupid, Pa Paiu,'" said Pa Nukufuri, smiling. Pa Paiu is not a recognized expert, but was trying his hand on the lad to gain experience. Experts are not common; there were three only in the village of Matautu where I lived. One of them was Fopeni, seen at work in the accompanying photograph (Fig. 1); the others were the brothers Pa Nukuomanu and Pa Nukutauriri. They happened to be all of Kafika clan, though

the dominant group of the village was the clan of Tafua—such alignment is not significant in any of the ordinary crafts.

The technical processes employed are simple.



FIG 1. TIKOPIA TATTOOER AT WORK.

Those followed by Fopeni on one occasion are described here. The expert arrives with his 'kit' contained in a small close-woven basket of the type used by men to hold betel-materials and other personal property. Several *matau* are stuck in loops around the edge. The *matau* is the actual tattooing implement. It is a small adze-like tool with a tiny blade made by cutting diagonally a piece of bird bone—that of the *rofa*, a species of mollymawk (popularly called albatross)—and sharpening the edge into five or six teeth. The piece of bone, which is about an inch-and-a-half long, is lashed like an adze-blade to a small stick about three times its length, which is flattened and curved downwards at the haft end. The blade of the *matau* is called by the natives *toki*, the same term used for an adze. The kit contains also a tapping-stick (*pararafa ta tau*) which is a small thin wand of coconut spathe, as its native name indicates; a bamboo tube holding black pigment (*refu*); a stick of *kauyasu* wood; a small cup of coconut shell (*fajono tuki refu*, 'cup for pounding pigment');



and a pencil-shaped sea-urchin spine (*fatu*). The kit is referred to in general phraseology as 'the valuable property of the experts.'

The tattooer pours a few drops of water into his tiny cup and shakes a little soot into it. This is mixed or 'pounded' with the stem of *kaufasu* wood—Fopeni told me that no other kind will do, but whether for magical or for technical reasons I neglected to inquire. The patient lies down on a floor mat. The operation is usually done in the hut of the expert but, as in the case photographed, when the light is bad there the work is done out of doors in the shade of a house. The design is roughly marked out on the skin of the patient with the pigmented *kaufasu* stem. The *matau* is also dipped in the pigment, put to the skin and the adze-blade struck with the tapping-stick. The teeth of the blade pierce the skin, a little blood flows, and the skin is pulled up a little as the teeth are withdrawn. The implement is held between the first finger and thumb and sometimes the flat end of the haft is braced against the little finger. Usually the hand is steadied by holding the three lower fingers on the mat, or on the patient, as the case may be. The photograph, taken while the tattooer was at work, shows the method. The tapping-stick is held also between the thumb and first finger. The patient, stretched out at full length, holds in one hand a rag of bark-cloth which the expert takes from time to time to wipe away the accumulated blood and pigment. The motion of tapping is termed *ta*. The line of the design is called 'the path' (*te ara*). At intervals it is touched-up or redrawn by the expert who dips the *kaufasu* stem in the liquid and moistens with it the *matau* blade. When the expert is in doubt an observer, of whom there are usually several, may assist him. "That's the line" he points, and adds "Mark it." And the expert then sketches it in plainly. Unsolicited comment of this kind is frequent in Tikopia craft-work, and is accepted by experts for what it is worth. The pencil-shaped *fatu*, sharpened to an edge, is used occasionally to clean out the teeth of the *matau* and make them keener by rubbing it in the grooves between them.

Tattooing is done in sections with a couple of days between each. As the actual incision is not deep the process does not appear to be very

painful and comparatively large areas can be done at a sitting. Pa Rañifau told me that his chest was tattooed in one day; this was a feat, two days being the normal time taken. The patient may change operators for different sections of the work. For instance the tattooing on the arms of Pa Nukufuri was done by Pa Nukutauriri and that on his back and chest by the latter's brother, Pa Nukuomanu.

The designs which the Tikopia employ are nearly all attributed to natural objects.<sup>2</sup> Some are referred to fish. One of the commonest is *fakafoiika*, a generalized piscine form which often resembles the bonito design found in the Melanesian islands to the west. No more specific name is given to it (*ika*, fish; *foi*, individualizing particle; *faka*, causative prefix); it is said to represent no particular kind, to be 'just a fish.' This and other designs are given in Fig. 2. *Fakafoiika* has several variants, large and small, including a double-line type, which resembles a type of engraving frequently applied to canoe-hulls. Another fish design is *fakaraumayo*, named after the shark; akin to it is *fakanifo* (toothing), which like it is tattooed on the median belly line from neck to navel. *Fakafoiika* is applied singly to face, arms, hands and knees, or may be placed on almost any other portion of the body, as fancy dictates. On the back in a number of parallel lines reaching from shoulder to lumbar region usually appears the *veri* motif, named after some kind of annelid of the reef. On face or shoulder *fakakapakau rofa*, mollymawk wings, is often tattooed. A design applied almost indifferently is *pararafa* (coconut spathe), said to represent the pestle for pounding coconut pudding, which is made of this material. *Urumuti* was given as another name for this. A plain triangle, known as a tattooing motif by the name of *tatā*, may be used separately, but its main sphere is to be built up into a solid design on the chest by alternation of light and dark elements, that is, by filling some triangles with pigment and not others. The result is rather like a shaded chessboard. A motif used singly is that called *se farakau* (flower of the *farakau*), and somewhat in the shape of a Maltese cross. This was said emphatically to be an ancient Tikopia design, not derived from Christian influence.

The first place to be tattooed is usually the

<sup>2</sup> The statement of Elsdon Best (*The Maori*, II, 552) that the tattooing of the Tikopia consists of a number of short straight lines is erroneous.



forehead. The motif, *fakafoika*, is the same for every man. Then comes the design at the corners of the eyes and on the cheeks, which is often a repetition of the same element. The chin is not tattooed in men. No definite order is followed for the rest of the body, though the principal surfaces, chest and back, are apt to be done last. Small elements, as an occasional fish or molly-mawk wings, may be tattooed on a child of almost any age, but it is unusual for a boy to be tattooed at all fully until after the superincision ceremony has been performed upon him—that is about puberty. For females, most of the elements mentioned above are not used. They have no body tattoo of any magnitude, but a fish or other simple motif may be done on hand or forehead. The principal element in their ornamentation is a band round the jaw from ear to ear, consisting of heavy double line from which bars project on to the cheek. This last is done some time after puberty but before they are regarded as marriageable. The acquisition of tattooing in both sexes is regarded as incidental to the attainment of adult status and not a definite symbol of it.

Tattooing is included under the generic term of *pani*, painted decoration, applied also to the smearing on of turmeric or charcoal. But, it is said, "tattooing is a decoration till death. It has stuck to a man; it cannot be brushed off."

The operation is not a ritual one in the sense of being surrounded by *tapu* or being performed as the central point of an elaborate series of ceremonies, like superincision. Yet the work itself is not treated precisely as a common act. The tattooer regards his craft as a skilled one, which indeed it is, and in consequence dedicates his implements to a power superior to his own. The *matau* is placed under theegis of an ancestor to whom appeals are made for its efficient use. The *matau* of Pa Taraoro is dedicated to Te Atuavao, a chief of his clan, from whom he is descended. Before he begins to tattoo he "announces" the implement to this ancestor that the operation may not be painful. His formula is this:—

"Come, Male Ancestor, to watch over the *matau* that it may be light,  
Do not make sore the bodies of folk,  
Let the tapping be finished to-day."

Payment is made to the tattooer. It is termed *te fakakai ya tau*, 'the sharpening of the tattooing,'

and is regarded as a recompense for the work involved. Each day that the tattooing takes place the immediate kinsfolk of the patient prepare the oven and carry food to the house of the expert, with some areca nut or tobacco. When the work is done the patient goes and cultivates for a day in the orchard of the expert, making him a present of this labour. A ritual gift of the type known as *maro* is also prepared. It consists of a pandanus mat, a sheet of white bark-cloth, a piece of orange bark-cloth and a number of pieces of ordinary bark-cloth—ten or so. The *maro* is not given on the day of completion of the tattooing, but a period of days or even weeks is allowed to elapse while the kinsfolk are collecting the various items. There is no haste about the repayment as there is at an initiation ceremony. The patient himself takes only a small part in this; his elders make themselves responsible. The same is true for a woman. Since it is customary for her not to marry until her tattooing has been completed, my informants could not admit the validity of a question as to who pays for the tattooing of a married woman.

When the present of food and valuables is brought to the tattooer he stands it on a mat on the ceremonial side of the house and spreads a bark-cloth as an offering to the ancestor to whom his *matau* is dedicated. At the same time he recites a formula:—

"That is your *maro*, Male Ancestor:

Your *maro* brought here on account of your adze which has been striking."

Morsels of food are then thrown as offerings to the ancestor.

The Tikopia say that their tattooing is not an indigenous product, but was introduced from Rotuma by a man known accordingly as Pu Tau Rotuma. There was no tattooing in Tikopia before his advent. This was about eight generations ago. The man lived in the north of the island and people are said to have gone in crowds to him to get their bodies tattooed, carrying food and other presents. The man's name is usually given as Fogarasi, but according to Pa Nukuomanu it was Fogarara; he had heard it an ancient song.

Tafto ... *Nofo ko Fogarara*  
*Nofo ka Motupua*  
*Te ura ko te aji e*  
*Ni tata tou fare kae se urufia.*



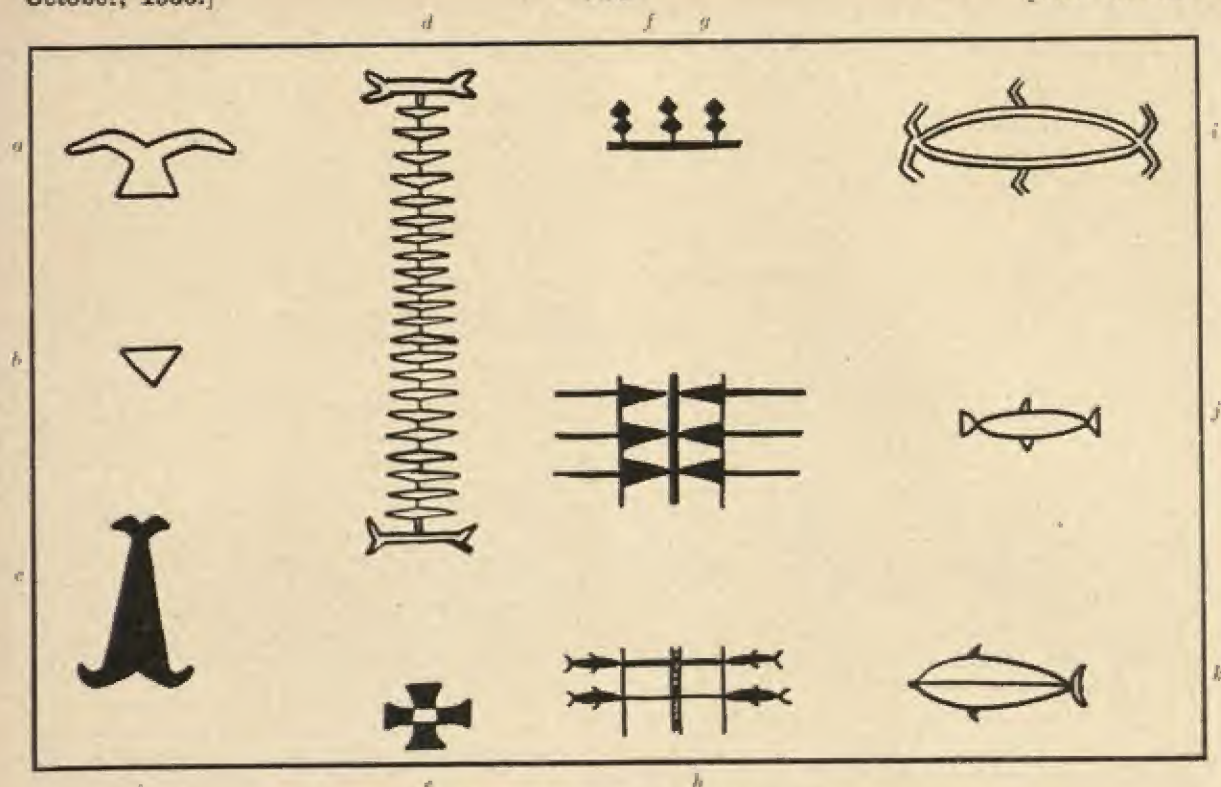


FIG. 2. SOME TIROPIA TATTOO DESIGNS.

(a) *kapakau rofa* (mollymawk wings); (b) *tutu* (triangle); (c) *urumuti* (pounder) or *pararafa* (coconut frond spathe); (d) *veri* (annelid); (e) *se farakau* (flower of farakau tree); (f) *fakamumayo* (shark design); (g) *fakanifo* (tooth pattern); (h) *fakamumayo* (design named together with f); (i) *fakafoiika* (fish pattern, large); (j and k) *fakafoiika* (fish pattern, small types).

<i>Kupu</i>	...	<i>Oro te fenua o vara</i> <i>Ki te ta'ata nafa i mouya</i> <i>I te tuatua rai'i.</i>
<i>Safe</i>	...	<i>Te uyo o te koroua</i> <i>Moio fenua.</i>
<i>Base</i>	...	<i>Fotjarara dwelt</i> <i>Motupua dwelt</i> <i>Ie! the fire is blazing</i> <i>The clearings of your house not to be entered.</i>
<i>Intermediate stanza.</i>		<i>The land went to murmur</i> <i>At the man living on the mountain</i>

*Conclusion* In the back of the heavens.  
The carrying of the goods  
From the land.

The song commemorates the public interest of the time in the tattooer's doings, the ubiquitous gossip—the murmuring of the land—in the picturesque native description—and the general resort to him. Some details in it are obscure. It is not known who Motupua was; possibly the companion of the tattooer.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION: Blackpool, 9-16 September, 1936.

**237** The Anthropological Section at the Blackpool meeting of the British Association had a shorter programme than usual, and not much outside the major divisions of Sociology, Local Antiquities and Folklore. But there was good attendance and discussion. Excursions were made to the Circle at Bleasdale, to the Roman site at Ribchester, and to the Museum and other objects of interest in Preston. A film-record of American Indians was shown.

The President, Miss D. A. E. Garrod gave a valuable address on *The Upper Palaeolithic in the Light of Recent Discovery*. Recent excavations in Africa, the Near East, Asiatic Russia, and China have opened a new field for speculation, and also revealed the complexity of problems which seemed relatively simple to the pioneers. The fault of De Mortillet's disciples lay in their canonization of a system which, though the best that could be devised when information was very incomplete, could only be applied locally, in Western Europe, and contained enormous gaps. Discoveries outside



Europe first strained and then demolished this scheme, and it is only the main outline of a new pattern that is beginning to be apparent. For purposes of typology, the fundamental division is into 'hand-axe,' 'flake,' and 'blade' cultures, all three very ancient, and the first two collateral as far back as we can see. But these do not run parallel and independent; they meet and influence each other, and sometimes they merge to produce a new *facies*.

Breuil was the first to develop a common world-outlook. Menghin's scheme groups flake and blade cultures together, and treats bone-cultures as a third main category: this framework is artificial and too rigid, leads to contradictions, and does not wholly escape the old confusion of chronological with typological divisions. The recent tendency also to multiply names derived from type-stations is liable to obscure the migrations of culture.

The extinction of Neanderthal Man, in Europe, and the arrival of *Homo sapiens* coincide with the appearance there of essentially-blade cultures, of origins still undiscovered. Under the single heading 'Aurignacian' a number of diverse strains have to be distinguished. Peyrony's work in the Dordogne, and recent discoveries in the Near East establish the distinction between blunt-backed (Perigordian) and steep rostrate (Aurignacian) scrapers.

In Russia, the Near East, and North Africa, the problem is extremely complex. 'Lower Aurignacian' becomes 'Chatelperronian.' Upper includes La Gravette, succeeded by Font-Robert. These correspond with three major provinces, Caspian in Kenya and Little Africa, Gravettian in N.W. Asia and E. Europe, both possibly derived from Chatelperronian, but separated by the great Aurignacian province in the Near East. Gravettian and Aurignacian migrations into Central and Western Europe, succeeding and influencing each other, till in the extreme west we find the classic French sequence. The latest Pleistocene industries seem to be local developments of one or other of these: the Solutrean is intrusive from Hungary.

The gradual establishment of this new outlook results mainly from discoveries in Russia and Eastern Europe, still not well published: from Palestine, from Egypt and Eastern Sahara, and from French Africa, where recent work throws light also on the industries of Kenya. Neither a *mirage orientale* nor a *mirage africain* would at the present moment give a true picture of the position: only further discovery will make it possible to decide outstanding controversies.

Other communications may be summarized as follows:—

#### *Physical Anthropology.*

Professor R. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S., thought that *Blood Groups* arose as parallel mutations in *Man* though groups A and B occur also in anthropoids. The primitive condition seems to have been O, from which first A and then B appeared as mutations, as their racial distributions show.

Mr. E. Davies described his *Anthropometrical*

*Survey of the Isle of Man*, distinguishing local predominance of fairer and of darker and smaller types. He gave also an account of Rural Settlement in the Isle of Man.

Mr. H. Fullard summarized recent *Anthropometric Work in Lancashire*, paying special attention, at this stage, to methods and objectives, and the relevance of the distributions already established to the geography and life of Lancashire.

#### *Language.*

Sir Richard Paget, Bart., restated his well-known views about *Sign language in relation to human speech*. He advocated general use of sign-language.

#### *Sociology.*

Professor C. Daryll Forde described *Social Thought in a West African Village Community*, where authority and legal decisions have lain with (Yakô) priest chiefs, whose prestige is derived not from the patrilineal and territorial kin-groups, but from co-existing matrilineal groups. The establishment of the external authority of European Government, and (under its authority) of warrant-chiefs proposed by aggregations of patrilineal line groups, have led to serious internal conflict, involving the fundamental social organization.

Miss E. D. Eathly dealt with *The Social Structure of a Gbandi Town in Liberia*, which has grown in five generations from a single hunter. The outlay of the settlement illustrates peculiarities of the patrilineal and patrilocal organization, which, however, has emerged from a matrilineal and matrilocal. Occupations are varied, and include iron-working; and an iron currency is used for bride-wealth.

Dr. D. Jenness discussed the *Backwardness of the American Indians, and its Causes*, isolation, race mixture, physiographic conditions; and made instructive comparisons between Old World and New World conditions.

Dr. E. T. Lindgren noted unusual features in *Russo-Tungus Culture Contact*, where there is no perceptible elimination or fusion, over seventy years. Suggested reasons for this are numerical equivalence and partial economic interdependence, with cultural borrowing in both directions.

#### *Folklore and British Antiquity.*

Dr. E. Wilson's study of the Folk-tale in *Westmorland and Northern Lancashire* classified types, and illustrated degeneration since the spread of literacy and intercourse.

Mr. E. G. Bowen traced the *Travels of the Celtic Saints in the Dark Ages*, which followed the routes indicated by archaeological evidence two thousand years earlier. Spheres of individual influence are revealed by geographical distribution of indicated churches, wells and shrines, and correspond with cultural sub-provinces of prehistoric date. Very few saints exercised any general influence.

Mr. S. O'Duilearga described the *Work of the Irish Folklore Commission*, which makes use of the primary teachers and has organized a Folklore Reference Library and collection of illustrations



of house-types, and modes of agriculture and fishing.

Mr. J. Hornell classified the *Coracles and Currachs of the British Isles* with reference to their geographical distribution and historic origin. What put these out of action in open water was the clinker-built long-ship of the Saxons, and the roomier round ships of the continental merchant. Only in remote coastal and inland waters did poverty and traditional skill maintain them in use.

Mr. I. C. Peate illustrated by the *Moorland Long-house in Wales* the influence of environment on human habitations. Here man and beast are housed under the same roof, as in associated types in Scotland and in ancient Scandinavia.

Mr. W. J. Varley described the recent re-excavation of the wood-built *Bleasdale Circle*, which combines the characteristics of Danish 'circle-graves' and of megalithic enclosures, but applies them to the adornment of a cist-grave.

Messrs. E. E. Evans and O. Davies described the numerous *Stone-circles in Northern Ireland*, probably introduced from the north, by the Foyle estuary. Their distribution and grave-typology assign them to the late Neolithic period.

Miss L. F. Chitty presented a series of maps of typical objects illustrating *The Irish Sea in Relation to Bronze Age Culture*, and ranging from the Pennine Passes and the Mountains of North Wales. There has been interesting 'hybridization' of ceramic types, due to trade between diverse elements in flat bronze axes from Ireland, and in precious commodities. Late Bronze Age upheavals sent Scottish makers of large cinerary ware among Ulster makers of 'food-units.' Bronze-equipped swordsmen traversed Ireland, influencing sword-types: but isolation subsequently produced the 'Ultimate Bronze Age' culture, which may have lasted till Roman times.

#### General Archaeology.

Dr. J. Pokorný examined the *Racial and Linguistic Affinities of the Neolithic Danubians*, who introduced domestic animals and cultivated plants into Central Europe. Their anthropological remains are scanty and mixed both with aborigines and with later conquerors, but includes a Mediterranean element. The Urnfield culture in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany is claimed as Illyrian, and correlated with non-Aryan names for rivers and villages which should be 'Danubian,' and show coincidences with Etruscan, which the author thinks due to a common Mediterranean element, absorbed by the Etruscans of Italy.

Miss M. Dunlop illustrated *The Significance of the Limestone Escarpment in the Life of Bronze-Age France*, by distribution maps of material culture. What was critical, as in Britain, was the contrast between tree-free limestone areas and their non-calcareous forested hinterlands: and the demonstrable oscillations of boundaries resulting from climatic changes. Where the limestones were sufficiently extensive, 'unique autochthonous

'groupings' emerged, with peripheral 'contact-metamorphism.'

Mademoiselle Simone Corbier reported *Recent Finds in the Indus Valley*, revealing, in the Peshawar district, an early stage of civilization which shows parallels with Sumerian Mesopotamia (Jemdet-Nasr and Susa II), the Aegean (Early Minoan I) and Anau, in Turkestan.

#### General.

Dr. T. A. Rickard's plea for revision of *The Nomenclature of Archaeology* challenged the customary terms 'Neolithic' and 'Early Bronze Age,' and insisted on a 'Primordial' antecedent to the 'Stone Age.' To distinguish acquaintance with smelted metals from the fortuitous use of nuggets as 'malleable stones,' the term 'Metallurgic Age' was suggested.

Dr. M. A. Murray gave examples of *Anthropology as Applied to English History*.

Dr. H. J. Fleure dealt with the relations between *The Science of Man and the Problems of To-day*.

There were visits to Bleasdale Circle, the Roman site at Ribchester, the older buildings of Preston Cartmel, and Furness Abbey, and films of American Indians were shown.

A joint discussion was arranged between the Zoological and the Anthropological Sections, on *Genetics and the Race Concept*. There was general agreement that indiscriminate use of linguistic, cultural, and genetic terms in discussions of 'race' was unscientific and misleading.

Professor Fleure would prefer to avoid the term 'race' altogether, but thought, nevertheless, that groups of characters were found in fairly stable association in certain human populations.

Dr. Julian Huxley said that the classical concept of 'race,' as applied to mankind, had been superseded by the genetic concept of a combination of qualities. The zoological use of race was also inapplicable to man, because man's evolution was not divergent but reticulate. The word 'race,' with its misleading implications, should be abandoned.

Dr. G. M. Morant asked students of genetics for a considered statement of their position. Some hypothesis of inheritance by blending of characters was required by the anthropological data.

Professor Carr Saunders found no zoological evidence for considerable genetic differences of intelligence between what were described as 'races,' but was prepared to admit that such 'races' differed in temperament.

Professor R. Ruggles Gates compared the geographical races of mammals with the main groups of modern man, and was prepared to recognize four separate human species.

Professor Crew denied, on genetical ground, the existence of 'races' of man, and described a method for describing scientifically the genetic differences between human groups.

Professor Muller explained genetically certain non-Mendelian peculiarities in the cross-breeding of human groups.



## REVIEWS.

## RELIGION.

**238** *Mythos und Kult der Steinzeit. Versuch einer Lösung uralter Mythos-Rätsel und Kultgeheimnisse. Von Dr. J. Winthuis. Strecker & Schröder, Stuttgart, 1935. xvi + 296 pp.*

The title of this book leads us to expect a thesis on the mythology and cults of the stone age, based to a certain extent on prehistoric material. Prehistoric facts, however, are hardly mentioned and nine-tenths of the book deal with the interpretation of the mythology of the Aranda. This Australian tribe, cited so often as evidence for ancient forms of human institutions, represents to the author such an early stage in the development of mankind that their mythology reveals to us reliable information concerning the origin of religion. J. Winthuis claims that this information can only be gained, however, if the metaphorical character of the myths is recognized. He holds that neither Spencer and Gillen nor Strehlow, to whom we owe the recording of the Aranda myths, ever understood their meaning. While they took them literally, he discovered their transcendental, esoteric sense.

Those who know the author's earlier books ('Das Zweigeschlechterwesen,' 1928, and 'Einführung in die Vorstellungswelt primitiver Völker,' 1931) can have little doubt as to his method of interpreting these myths. He considers that sexual incidents are the only basic theme of Aranda mythology. Every second word is taken for a sexual symbol. The spear of a hunter, for instance, is not a weapon but his penis; a waterhole stands for the vagina, and simple activities such as eating, killing, hunting, making fire, climbing, etc., are metaphors representing the sexual act. Proceeding in this manner the author comes easily to the conclusion that all the Aranda myths have a purely sexual meaning. In the background of all these myths is the Zweigeschlechterwesen, a supreme bisexual being, which is at the same time Creator and Allmother. Winthuis tries to construct this androgynic being by interpreting all the *alknarintja* women as different aspects of one goddess. She forms with her husband Altjira the bisexual supreme being.

Arguing from his assumption that the mythology of all Australian tribes is 'more or less' the same, the author finds in every ceremony a sexual meaning and interprets all Australian supreme beings, for example, Mungan-ngaua of the Kurnai, as bisexual. Having thus extended his explanation of the Aranda mythology to that of all Australians he at once jumps with enviable alacrity to the great religions of the Far East and informs us that they, too, have been misunderstood until to-day. He holds that the Chinese and the Japanese believe in an androgynic supreme being who has brought the world into existence (p. 114). This startling statement is followed by a number of quotations from Claudel, Karrer and Görres. From these he draws the even more astonishing conclusion that the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Indians revere in fact only the one God; that from India to Japan the general popular belief is monotheism and not polytheism—the latter being nothing but a product of the rationalistic westerner who does not understand the mysticism of oriental man . . .

These sweeping generalizations speak for themselves. The very fact that Winthuis draws his information of eastern religions from hardly any other sources than

Görres and O. Karrer, encourages us to doubt the profoundness of his views on this subject. This leads us to one of the most outstanding features of his book: its lack of balance. On the one side the author strives after a popular style, which tendency leads him to such statements as "among the first men there were no architects, carpenters or blacksmiths, no tailors and shoemakers, nor weavers and basket-makers." On the other hand, his following up of the Aranda myths shows an untiring display of detail, and endless lists of sexual symbols appreciable only by an expert in Australian linguistics.

In the essential part of his thesis it is possible to follow the author only to a very limited extent. No one denies that many Australian myths contain strong sexual elements. It is inconceivable, however, that in a community where normally the sexual instinct can be fully satisfied, and the need for food has to be very often suppressed, the whole mentality is impregnated with sexual ideas. A hungry native who tells a story of the killing of a kangaroo takes this tale certainly very literally. He does not dream of seeing in the act of procuring his food a metaphor for the sexual intercourse in which he might freely indulge. But Winthuis, fascinated by this one drive in human behaviour, neglects all the others none the less important, thus following in the footsteps of Roheim whom, curiously enough, he does not even mention.

Still less convincing is Winthuis in his demonstration that the numerous mythological beings in which the Aranda believes, are, after all, but one female 'Urwesen' who forms, with Altjira, the one single supreme bisexual god from whom all the totems are descended. To say that in the belief of the Aranda all beings were created (!) by God and that this is the central idea of the 'Urmythos,' seems to force the material into a scheme which is definitely foreign to the Aranda mind.

Where Winthuis fails to convince the reader, he tries to persuade him by repeating again and again that the real meaning of the mythology and the cult of the Central Australians is finally established and that "the old mystery of the history of religion, the belief in the 'Zweigeschlechterwesen' is unveiled for all times." It is unfortunate that Winthuis has ignored the work of such anthropologists as Elkin, Radcliffe-Brown, U. McConnel, and Piddington, who have recently carried out intensive fieldwork among many of the Australian tribes. The fact that they did not find any traces of a bisexual supreme being makes us even more reluctant to accept the author's theory.

C. FÜRER-HAIMENDORF.

**239** *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion. By Sir James George Frazer. Vol. III. x + 323 pp. London, Macmillan, 1936. Price 10s. 6d.*

This, the concluding volume of the work, takes up the theme where the second left off, at the discussion of precautions against the return of ghosts (Ch. I). It then passes on to 'deceiving the ghost,' 'dangerous ghosts,' and, under that heading, the precautions taken against a number of highly undesirable spirits, those belonging to persons killed by violence, or by their own hand, of women dead in childbirth, dead husbands or



wives, the unmarried or childless, the unburied, and finally those of beasts who for one reason or another, generally their strength and ferocity when alive, are dreaded.

An outstanding feature of the whole work is its fresh vigour and gusto. A reader who knew nothing of Sir James would easily believe that this was the production of some learned man forty or fifty years old. Has this great student of magic discovered a charm to make himself incapable of senility, like that which Kalypso would have performed upon Odysseus if he had consented to stay with her? The style keeps its beauty, the material comprises not a little that is new, the preface speaks of hope for the future progress of our race in knowledge of the deepest mysteries. Assuredly 'the wise know not old age.'

One criticism may be made of the book in general, that it notices hardly any but animistic explanations of the customs discussed. No doubt the great majority of them are due to fear of ghosts and nothing else: for that fear, the author claims (p. 2) simply that it has been 'a very potent agent,' not that it has been the only or even the predominant motive. But there are several instances among those he cites in which a non-animistic (not necessarily preanimistic) explanation is at least as natural. One of the most striking is on p. 117, wherein dealing with the *Ia* ceremony among the Lakhers of North-eastern India he explains it as due to fear of the ghost of a slain man and calls that ghost *sau*. But on p. 304 he returns to the same people, and in expounding their procedure to avoid hurt from a dead leopard makes it clear that *sau* is not the ghost but a vague 'power for mischief' which the beast has, or is. On p. 51, when speaking of costumes worn to disguise their wearer from the ghost, he describes one, that of the Ovaherero, which is at least as suggestive of purification, since it involves not only new clothes but bathing and greasing oneself. It is true that the person who has taken these precautions after being threatened by a dying man says that he will not be known again by the dead; but I doubt if this is more than a secondary explanation. On the same page, having occasion to quote Plutarch, Sir James calls him the Father of Folklore. The title would better befit Herodotus, or at latest one of those fourth-century writers who concerned themselves with the manners and customs of non-Greeks. On p. 163, a ceremony is reported from the Dumāl (formerly of the Central Provinces, now of Orissa and Bihār). When a tiger has killed two or more members of one family, they perform an elaborate mummery in which another of the same family is supposed to be killed by a tiger and is then buried for a short time, taken out again, and mourned for a day. I cannot see how this is supposed to appease the dangerous ghosts who aid and abet tigers; is it not rather imitative magic? The man who has been killed, buried and mourned for, lives and goes about his business; in like manner any future attempts of tigers to kill those so protected will fail utterly, for they have been made tiger-proof. On p. 215, a widow of the Nhavi (Bombay Presidency) ends the ritual of her second marriage by carrying a jar of water on her head into her new husband's house. This, the author suggests, is another case of putting a barrier of water between herself and the ghost; I should say, a formal beginning of her duties as a married woman, a *handsel*.

But even discounting these and one or more doubtful examples, we are left with an imposing and very useful array of material. That the book is well printed follows from the name of the publishers: on p. 259, note 2, however, the accent of *Λοιπὸν* has strayed to the

wrong syllable, and on p. 182 there is apparently a slip of copying or printing at line 11; surely the phantom girl appears, not 'neatly decked and dressed with 'ornaments' but 'neatly dressed, and decked with 'ornaments.'

H. J. ROSE.

**The Monks of Athos.** By R. M. Dawkins. London, Allen & Unwin, 1936. 408 pp., 6 plates, 7 illustrations in text, and a folding map. Price 15s. net.

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Professor Dawkins has written a most charming, gossipy book concerning a place which he knows well and at first hand; he has provided a good deal of information not easily to be had elsewhere about Athos and its history, also about Greek monasticism in general; but from the anthropologist's point of view the most outstanding feature of his work is the good store of legends, well told and discussed, with which he has filled several chapters. To collect these legends was indeed his original object, as the preface to the book explains; but no one will find fault with him for adding a background to make them intelligible.

After a chapter treating briefly of the legends in general and a succinct description of Athos, its monks, their monasteries and other abodes, their reasons for professing and some interesting details of their life (these matters occupy eight chapters), he proceeds to set forth the legends in order, with frequent digressions on similar stories from elsewhere, the circumstances under which he heard the tales or from which it may be supposed they sprung, and other matters of interest. Chapter IX gives the legends of the Emperors (Imperial founders, real or imaginary, are much sought after at Athos and got by quaint devices; thus the monastery of Vatopédi or Bramblefield is quite capable on occasion of misspelling itself Vatopaidi, Brambleboy, and adding a convincing account of how a young prince, afterwards the Emperor Arcadius, was saved from the sea and found alive and well under a bramblebush); next come the foundation-stories of the various establishments, extending to Chapter XVI. Chapters XVII-XXVIII deal with the very fruitful topic of ikons; Chapter XXIX has the few legends concerning ships (they all belong to the monastery Docheiariou), and the last three chapters treat of more ikons, those which have a terrible character, of the history of St. John Koukouzelis and, in conclusion, of the effect of Athos on the typical pilgrim.

All the legends are worth reading, especially told as Professor Dawkins tells them, from the Greek and not the Frank point of view and with interesting comments. Many of them are unfamiliar in the West; some are old and wide-spread. A few more parallels might have been given; thus, the disinclination of sundry ikons to stay in any place, however honourable, but the one they have chosen is exactly the story told of the Penates in classical times: the finding of an ikon in a tree or thicket (p. 282) recalls the cult-legend of Orthia at Sparta; the story on pp. 291-2 seems a worn-down version of the Monk and the Bird; on p. 338 *sqq.*, the tale of the statue or other object which was inscribed 'Strike (or "dig") here' and gave up its secret when it occurred to someone that its shadow was meant may well be native Greek, for it was current at Epidaurus not later than 300 B.C. On p. 360, it is by no means incongruous that celibates like the monks of Athos should possess reliable fertility-charms, for powers of fertility have a certain preference for the unfertile as their ministers.

Misprints are few; I note *Palaialogós* for *Palaioiólogos* on p. 115, *Velificatur* for *Velificatus* on p. 382.

H. J. ROSE.



## ARABIA: ETHNOLOGY.

**Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden.** Von Erich Brauer. Heidelberg, 1934. (Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung), xix, 402 S., mit 7 Textabbildungen, 8 Tafeln und 1 Karte. Rm. 25 (geb. Rm. 28).

The author gives us an account of a Jewish tribe, as he calls the Yemenite Jews, without having, however, been in the Yemen. He bases his book on the Yemenites he has seen and questioned in Palestine, where they form a considerable community, and on descriptions which travellers have given of the interesting and not very accessible part of Arabia they inhabit. He appreciates the disadvantages of carrying out an investigation in this way, but, indeed, it is an excellent book and he certainly gives us a true picture of the daily life and of the festivals of the Jewish communities, which are still real ghettos.

Dr. Brauer professes to be a follower of the idea of the 'neue Sachlichkeit' of Thurnwald, and fortunately he generally avoids discussion as much as possible and prefers to give the data and facts. He describes, for instance, a house, its various rooms, the clothes of adults and children, and so on. When he speaks about handicrafts, however, we notice especially that the author has not been in the country he describes, and that he is no collector. He gives a good idea of the different professions, but there are only descriptions of tools and implements, and we miss drawings or photographs of most of the specimens he describes, such as the loom, the complete set of instruments of a silversmith, etc. Most of the photographs at the end of the book are on too small a scale to be very helpful. Another German explorer, Dr. Karl Rathjens, made a good collection of specimens relating to the Yemenite Jews on his journey through the country itself. Brauer tells us that Rathjens and the museum in Hamburg, which now holds the specimens, liberally give him the right of reproduction. I know the collection; and, in my opinion, a more useful selection of the material for reproduction might have been made.

The chapters dealing with the material culture and the sociological parts of the book are very good. The description of the religious ceremonies makes possible comparison with the ritual of the Jews living in other countries.

The chapter on physical anthropology is mostly based on Weissenberg's researches. Weissenberg has measured 78 men and 14 women. This is not sufficient material to yield final conclusions. But it may be noticed among Weissenberg's measurements of Jews in different countries the Yemenite Jews differ clearly from all the other groups in stature, span, head-breadth, height of face, breadth of face and nasal index. Brauer was probably not acquainted with these facts, and his own remarks on this question are contrary to 'neue Sachlichkeit,' which would require more measurements and less discussion.

OTTO SAMSON.

**The Arabs of Central Iraq, their History, Ethnology and Physical Characters.** By

**242** Henry Field, with an Introduction by Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S. Field Museum of Natural History (Anthropology Memoirs, Vol. IV) 1935. 32 x 25 cms., 474 pp., pls. 156, text figures 45, maps 5.

This great volume contains, printed in detail, sheet by sheet, the measurements by Mr. Henry Field on a large

number of Arabs in Iraq. Constants have also been worked out. Mr. Field has not attempted to study his figures as he has left the analysis in the able hands of Sir Arthur Keith. It would probably have been more convenient to the student if the sheets had been printed in tables as the present arrangement would make it very difficult to plot, though one has the advantage of having, at the expense of much repetition of printing, the individuals of each set out at length. Sir Arthur has made use of the crude material as follows: First he looked at the photographs and formed his judgment on these. He finds evidence of negroid admixture in Iraq. It seems to the present reviewer that it is very doubtful how ancient this admixture is. Slaves have been imported into Arabia and Mesopotamia from Africa for a very long time historically, though there seems little evidence to show when the slave trade really began. Any admixture which one finds in the modern population may be extremely modern, and I have talked to slaves who themselves, their mothers, or fathers, or in some cases their grandparents had been imported. In many cases they knew the tribe to which they had belonged. Next Sir Arthur has made a series of product moment tables which show in an extremely clear way the distribution of the various measurements and their relation to the each other in the case of pairs which are usually combined into an index. As a final conclusion he suggests that the peoples of Arabia might represent a mixture of darker-skinned Dravidians into which invaders from the southern or Semitic fringe of the Caucasian centre had infused their blood. He gives the alternative suggestion that the evolutionary centre of the Caucasian type may actually have extended into Arabia, in which case he suggests that the Arab would be a pure evolutionary race. He concludes that the modern Iraqi are closely related to the ancient people of Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium B.C. and finds the only difference in their cranial capacity which he suggests was greater in ancient times. A certain confirmation of this conclusion would need head heights as well as lengths and breadths from which to calculate the capacity. Nor is the allowance for thickness of the soft parts quite certain. Miss Tildesley, for example (*Biometrika*, Vol. XIX, p. 205) suggests the allowance of 10 mm. to both length and breadth, whereas Sir Arthur makes an allowance of 8 and 10 mm. respectively. Further, the estimate of the ancient capacity is only based on very few ancient crania. Sir Arthur draws attention to the degree of variability among the Arabs. This is an interesting condition which seems to be characteristic of most of the Near East and contrasts strongly with Egypt. This variability occurs in both ancient and modern times and was discussed by Von Luschan in his classic Huxley Lecture. It is interesting to find confirmation of the fact in the abundant material which Mr. Field has put at Sir Arthur Keith's disposal. It is difficult in a brief review to draw attention to the wealth of material which the volume contains. The number of photographs should be of great value and Mr. Field's notes on the ethnology of the people combined with Professor Langdon's history of Kish make the monograph a very complete study of the anthropology of a region which has contributed so much to the world's history.

L. H. D. B.

## INDIA.

**Dharma and Society.** By G. H. Mees, M.A., LL.D. The Hague: N. V. Servire, 1934. xvi + 206 pp.

**243** Dr. Mees proclaims Varna, the familiar 'four caste' scheme of Indian Society, as a panacea for all worldly ills. He is aware (p. 64) of the distinction

between Varna and Jāti, the several thousand 'castes' into which Indian Society is split, but of the social structure and religious beliefs of India he says not a word; as quotations from the Sanskrit scriptures and from modern apologists, however copious, cannot make



good this omission, he fails to realize that the *Varna* theory, not *Jāti*, is answerable for the 'social evils' which he deprecates (p. 104), and that these evils barely exist beyond its range. The trouble is that Dr. Mees discusses two different things under a common name. *Dharma*, usually translated 'Law,' with its fourteen different meanings (p. 9) can easily be read into any non-Indian philosophy, or vice versa. It is misleading to speak of 'form' and 'life' (p. 90) as different aspects of the same thing; they are, in Dr. Mees' own words, "essentially opposed," and this conflict between letter and spirit is the real theme of this book, though he

chooses to clothe it in Indian terminology. The idealism of the *Gita*, of the Buddhist canon, of the great reformers is a flat negation of the formalism of the *Dharmasastras*. As for the 'hierarchy' grades of *Varna*, a dictatorship of 'intellectuals' no doubt appeals to the philosophic mind, and none will deny that merit should count more than birth, that standards of conduct differ in different social groups, that everyone should do his own job; but that a priest is intrinsically 'superior' to a soldier, a trader or a labourer few will agree. As propaganda this book is innocuous; a contribution to science it certainly is not.

F. J. RICHARDS.

#### AFRICA.

**A Population Map of Tanganyika Territory.** By C. Gillman. *Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1936. Price 1s.*

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This publication is probably the best value for money yet given by the Tanganyika Government Press, and is the work of Mr. C. Gillman, whose knowledge of the geography of Tanganyika is unsurpassed. The population map (scale 1 : 2,000,000) is contained, together with another map (scale 1 : 4,000,000) showing the types of land occupation, in the back cover of a sixteen-page explanatory monograph.

The latter, after two and a half pages on method, embarks on a careful analytical and synthetical digest of the more prominent features of the two maps, and ends by emphasizing the need for basing future development on geographical facts rather than on 'optimistically tinged expectations,' and by indicating the lines which the author considers should be followed.

I can confidently recommend this publication to

anyone interested in the relationship of man to his physical environment.

A. T. C.

**Tanganyika Notes and Records.** *Dar es Salaam, Government Printer. Illustrated, published half-yearly. 98 pp. 5s., or 10s. p.a.*

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This publication, whose first number appeared in March, 1936, aims at collecting and publishing 'a series of facts and studies relating to Tanganyika in the hope that the sum total of our knowledge . . . may thereby be increased.' The editor is to be complimented on the first number, in which he has succeeded in gathering together seventeen excellent contributions, fourteen of which deal with matters relevant to Bantu sociology and should certainly be read by anyone interested in that subject.

If the high standard of the first number is maintained *Tanganyika Notes and Records* should form a continuous source of valuable anthropological information. A. T. C.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

**Female fertility figures.** (Cf. *J.R.A.I.*, LXIV, pp. 93-100, pls. viii-xii, 1934. *MAN*, 1923, 86; 1929, 99; 1930, 8, 94; 1931, 3, 4; 1934, 206, 208; 1935, 17, 64, 65, 70, 104.)

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SIR,—In *J.R.A.I.*, LXIV (1934), pp. 93-100, pls. viii-xii, Dr. Murray has classified the female fertility figures in three groups, viz.: (1) The Universal Mother or Isis type; (2) The Divine Woman or Ishtar type; (3) The Personified Yoni or Baubo type. She has illustrated a number of specimens to prove her thesis, but has not considered ancient Indian specimens in this connexion. In this letter it will be my endeavour to show that one Indian terra-cotta figurine may be taken as belonging to the Personified Yoni or Baubo type.

In the Government Museum at Madras there is this terra-cotta figurine (Fig. 1) which has been reproduced by Brecks (An account of the primitive tribes and monuments of the Nilagiris, pl. xxxvi, 1873) and Foote (*Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 48, pl. iii, 542, 1901). It is found in the Nilagiri hills. It is a nude figure who sits on a stool, has very little hair, puts on a small cap, ear-rings, triple necklace, cross-belt and anklets. The breasts and the navel are indicated by incised dots. The left hand touches the hair and the right hand the sex organ. Regarding the sex of this figure Breck's account (l.c.) is of no use as he has omitted to number it in the plate and Foote does not say definitely whether it is the representation of a man or a woman (p. 48). But it appears that there are possibly some indications to show that it is a female figure. Firstly, let us consider the treatment of the breasts. It is quite true that the breasts of this figure are not shown fully developed and that there are some other examples found in the same locality and reproduced by Brecks (pl. xxxvii, b) and Foote (pl. ii, 310) in which the female breasts are shown

fully developed, but there is one specimen, found in the same locality (Foote, pl. v, 303) whose breasts, though not shown fully developed, are so determinately em-



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

phasized along with the navel also that it should be taken as a female figure. There is a great similarity in the treatment between the breasts of this figure and those of the figure under discussion. Consequently the figure under discussion should be taken as a female figure. Secondly, as a corroborative evidence we should take into consideration the statement of Dr. Murray who observes that in many female fertility figures of the Baubo type the breasts are either normal or less



than normal, or often barely indicated or sometimes altogether omitted (pp. 95, 97). Thirdly, if we compare this figure with a nude male figure (Fig. 2) holding the sex organ with the left hand (Brooks, pl. xxxvi), then we may claim this figure to be female. In a recent letter Dr. F. H. Gravely, Superintendent of the Government Museum at Madras, has informed me that he also believes it to be a female figure.

If we believe it to be a female figure, then it naturally belongs to the Personified Yoni or Baubo type of Dr. Murray, because it fulfills the major characteristics of this type. According to Foote this specimen belongs to the Iron age (pp. iii-xix). Thus it is one of the earliest examples of this type found in India.

University of Calcutta.

C. C. DAS GUPTA.

#### A 'Sheila-na-gig' figure at South Tawton.

**247** Sir,—Mr. C. J. P. Cave has kindly photographed this boss in the roof of South Tawton church near Okehampton. The roof is of wood and dates to the fifteenth century. The figure, also of wood, appears to be in its original position and of the same date as the roof. The size is approximately from 20 to 24 inches long.

When Mr. Passmore and I first called attention in *Man* to these figures in English churches they were supposed to be peculiar to Ireland. Now they are proved to be as plentiful in England, where they are



A 'SHEILA-NA-GIG' FIGURE AT SOUTH TAWTON.

usually found *in situ* in churches. Their position shows that they were regarded as sacred. At present the dating is uncertain.

M. A. MURRAY.

#### A face-marking operation in the Jarawa Tribe of the Plateau Province of Northern Nigeria.

**248** Sir,—Nearly all Nigerian tribes mark their faces, and some their bodies, according to the accepted marks of their tribes.

The operation witnessed was done in the open on the top of a small hill (Fig. 1). The person to be marked was a young unmarried woman, and the operator an elder of the tribe. I understood that the position of operator was hereditary, being handed down from father to his son, whom he has taught.

The girl lies on her side full length on the ground, her face resting on the thigh of an assistant. The instrument used is generally an old razor, or, as was in this case, an ordinary small wooden-handled knife, the blade being filed to razor-edge sharpness. After the marking is finished the blood is washed off, and the face rubbed with a solution of indigo; later, a poultice

of indigo is put on which remains about six weeks. The charge was one shilling and sixpence for one side of the face; as it is supposed that one side alone is not



FIG. 1. A FACE-MARKING OPERATION: NORTHERN NIGERIA.

done, the operator nets three shillings for a marking. The whole operation took about twenty minutes.

J. E. HUMPHREY.

Department of Agriculture, S. Nigeria.

#### Variolation in Africa.

**249** Sir,—It is well known that 'variola'—immunization to smallpox by injecting morbid matter from the pustules of diseased humans—was performed in many Asiatic countries before the modern techniques of vaccination and inoculation were developed in Europe.

In Africa, variolation has been reported from Ashanti ('Goromantese'—Coromantoes or Gurmansi? Kittredge, 1912, from Cotton Mather, ca. 1720), Central Sudan (Barth, 1857), Jukun (Meek, 1931), BaKwara (Rosecoe, 1925, with the remark that it was learned from the Sudanese after 1870), BaNyamwezi (Böseb, 1930), BaRonga (Junod, 1919), BaVenda (Steyt, 1931). Talbot (1926) remarks somewhat ambiguously: "Many of the 'Ekoi practise inoculation against small-pox; the 'milky juice of a certain tree is used for the purpose."

The Bambuti Pygmies inoculate their infants with the virus of *Framboesia* (buba) to make them immune in maturity (Sehebesta, 1932). Bushmen immunize against the poison of snakes and scorpions by small injections in advance (Schapera, 1930). The Bergdama (Vedder, 1923) and BaNgala (Van Overbergh, 1907) immunize against scorpion stings by rubbing roasted scorpion-tail into incisions made in the arms or breast.

As yet one may only speculate on the diffusion of these practices and their relation to a magical background. I shall be very grateful for any relevant information which anyone may send me, particularly as to the history of variolation among Negroes with whom they are acquainted, the details of the technique, and its medical efficacy.

WALTER CLINE.

c/o American Sapprey Company, Berlin.

#### Correction.

**250** In the report of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Congress at Oslo (*Man*, 1936, 204), the argument of Dr. H. Kühn as to the Migration-time in relation with Siberia and China was inadvertently misrepresented. What Dr. Kühn intended to show was that there are relations between the Sino-Siberian civilizations and the Germanic migration-time; and he believes that he is first to indicate these relations. The Editor of *Man* regrets that Dr. Kühn's paper was inaccurately reported.









1. A ZULU BRASS ARMLET 'INGXOTA,' A BADGE OF DISTINCTION: DURBAN MUSEUM.



2. A CORRUGATED SHEET OF BRASS, REPRESENTING A STAGE IN THE MAKING OF A ZULU 'INGXOTA': DURBAN MUSEUM.



# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa: South.

With Plate N.

Chubb.

**THE ZULU BRASS ARMLET 'INGXOTA': A BADGE OF DISTINCTION.** By E. C. Chubb,  
*Curator of the Durban Museum.*

**251** The Durban Museum recently received from Dr. W. H. Haupt a sheet of corrugated brass (Plate N.2) which was found amongst the filling of an abandoned mine shaft near the Black Umfolosi River in the Nongoma area of Zululand. It measures 318 mm. in length, 166 mm. in width, and 12 mm. in thickness. The corrugations are triangular in section. The hole to be seen in the illustration has been made recently. It appears to be of interest in that it represents a stage in the making of what is known to the Zulus as 'Ingxota,' a badge of distinction that was awarded to certain men by the Zulu Kings of last century (Plate N.1.) and highly prized by the recipients. It was worn on the lower arm, just above the wrist, in the fashion of a gauntlet.

The following quotation from J. Y. Gibson's 'Story of the Zulus,' p. 51, furnishes information on the subject:—

"The brass armlet continued to be a badge of distinction for men till the end of Cetewayo's reign. It formed part of the court dress. It was called 'Ingxota.' It weighed from two to three pounds. The privilege of wearing it was accorded by the King, and the individual upon whom it was graciously conferred presented him with an ox in acknowledgment. The decoration was then purchased from the maker (a native smith) with another ox. The wearing of it occasioned much pain, as did the operation of removing it from the arm, which was performed by prizing it open with the shank of a native pick. The brass was imported."

Iraq.

Drower.

**THE MANDÆAN NEW YEAR FESTIVAL.** By E. S. Drower.

**252** Modern Mandæans, like Parsis, and the Magians before them, divide the year into twelve months of thirty days, with five uncounted additional days between two of the months.

The Parsis since they settled in India, and after the coming of Islam according to Al-Birūni (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, translated by E. Sachau), ceased to regard proper intercalation, and, by neglecting the quarter day, have dislocated the relations between the New Year and the spring season, at which period Persians in Zoroastrian times undoubtedly observed the feast. Similarly the Mandæans, who, like the Parsis, make the five intercalary days especially sacred to the spirits of the dead, to ancestors in

the world of light, and the great light spirits who originally begot them, have arrived at a confusion of season and festival which, at times, they have tried to remedy, apparently without understanding the cause.

With the Parsis, the last five days of the year, though not equal in holiness to the five intercalary days which follow them, are also kept as holidays. The Mandæans think the five days preceding intercalary days peculiarly unlucky, and consider them dedicated to the lords of death and darkness. However, the Mandæan, who begins his New Year now in the autumn, has at some time relegated the five intercalary days to the spring, for this feast of resurrection and communion with the dead is so essentially a



spring festival and bound with the loosing of the spring floods which fertilize the earth and make the seemingly dead dust leap into new life, that the priests, following the tradition that this feast of life must occur at spring, have, when faced with an inconveniently late season, shifted the mobile five days so that they fell between two spring months. There is more than one indication that this has happened in the course of their year. Other feasts have taken on characteristics of the ancient spring feast, and rudiments of the dual observance of death and mourning followed by life and rejoicing, of incarceration followed by freedom, of pollution followed by purification are traceable at other seasons of the year.

Particularly is this true of the Mandæan New Year, which recalls the Babylonian New Year. It will be remembered that the Babylonians divided the year into twelve months of thirty days with an extra five days and a quarter.

On New Year's Eve, sheep and chickens are slaughtered to provide a store of food, bread and cakes are baked, dates and vegetables carefully washed, are taken into the house, and all are placed in a part of the house where they can suffer no pollution. Some pious Mandæans go so far as to build themselves special reed huts covered entirely with mosquito muslin into which they retire with their families as soon as the sun has set. Water is drawn in pots, brought to the house and covered. All the last day of the year the priests baptize the people in the river. As the sun lowers, cattle and poultry are taken to outhouses where Gentile neighbours and servants can tend them, for, during the ensuing thirty-six hours they may not be milked or touched by a Mandæan. Five minutes before the sun disappears, every man, woman and child performs a threefold immersion in the river, and the women raise cries, then all retire into the house where they remain incarcerated for the next thirty-six hours, that is, the night before the New Year, the first day of the New Year, and the night which follows it. Vigil must be kept during the thirty-six hours. Not an eye must be closed, though the sleep of children, because it is unavoidable, is excused. New Year's Day is called the *Day of Lacking*, and no religious ceremony must take place on it, and no prayer be said. If a man chances to die during the thirty-six hours, he may not be buried. He is washed with water from the store in the house and

dressed in his white religious robes before death, but when the breath has left him, his body is left untouched, and merely covered with a sheet. It is considered a great disaster for a man to die at this time, for his spirit arrives in a world from which kindly life and light spirits are absent.

Laymen keep themselves awake by playing games and reciting stories, but the vigil is spent by the priests apart, for their duty is to read the astrological codex (the *Sfar Malwasha*) and to prepare predictions about the New Year, its good and bad weather, its chances of disaster or good fortune.

If an animal, reptile, or insect, such as a hornet, touches food or drink, they may not be consumed; and if a person comes into contact with an animal, reptile, or Gentile, he is seriously polluted and must cleanse himself after the solemn season is over by many baptisms. Vermin and flies, being regarded as inevitable, are not counted, however.

The reason for the care to avoid pollution is this. New Year's Day commemorates the Creation, for the Mana Rabba Kabira or Great Spirit, completed his work of creation on this day. Therefore, all spirits of light and life, wherever they may be, leave their posts and go to pay him a complimentary visit. *Abathur*, who sits at the gates of the world of light, closes them; the protectors of the wells and running waters forsake them, the guardian spirit of each human being leaves him; and the purified spirits of ancestors join with the rest of the spirits of the upper world and set forth on their journey. Swiftly as these creatures of light move, the infinitely long journey takes them twelve hours. They reach their goal on the dawn of the New Year and spend the day in contemplating perfection. The journey back covers the next night.

But what of the world thus left undefended? The powers of death and evil are unrestrained. The waters of the rivers and springs, usually holy and life-giving, become malignant and may not be approached. A man who even dips a finger into the river is cursed. Trees, at other times magically beneficent, become harmful. People wrap matting round trees growing in their courtyards so that children may not touch them inadvertently. This is why Mandæans shut themselves in and shun all contacts. If pollution brings physical and spiritual danger



when guardian spirits are present, it has thousand-fold power to hurt them during their absence.

The second day of the New Year, Mandæans visit each other, feast and make merry. The first call is upon the high priest, from whom they learn the portents for the year, which they begin with ablutions and purification in the river on this second day. Individual as well as communal forecasts of good or bad fortune may be obtained from the priests, and if bad fortune is foreseen, a protective phylactery may be commissioned, since all priests are skilled in the art of writing amulets.

The sequence of ideas recalls the Babylonian New Year festival. The ritual tablets of the sky-god Ann at Uruk (Warka) (Thureau-Dangin: *Rituels Accadiens*, pp. 104 ff.) relate how, in the month of Nisan (April), the New Year in Babylonian reckoning, the priest rose before sunrise, washed himself in river-water, put on a clean garment and prayed to Bel. At the New Year the gods, like the Mandæan spirits of life and light, paid visits to each other and to the sky-god. Just as Mandæan priests work out the fate of their nation and people during the nights of incarceration, the 'tablets of destiny' were consulted by the Assyro-Babylonian priests at the *akitu* festival. The Mandæan period of imprisonment is reminiscent of Tammuz's incarceration below the earth, subsequent resurrection and the return of fertility at his reappearance. In short, it appears obvious that the Mandæan New Year festival was once a spring feast.

In the tenth century Al-Birūnī noted that the Persian Nau-roz (New Year) "has receded from its original proper place, so that in our time it coincides with the sun's entering the sign of Aries, which is in the beginning of spring."

Hence, in the tenth century the Persian New Year coincided with the present Mandæan spring festival, known as Panja. The five intercalary days of the Parsees and Old Persians were also called Panja. Al-Birūnī writes:—

"On the 6th of Farwardan, the day Khurdadh is the great Nauroz, for the Persians a feast of great importance. On this day—they say—God finished the creation, for it is the last of the six days" (i.e., the intercalary five and their eve) "mentioned before. . . . On the same day—they say—the *Sors Zarathustra* came to hold communion with God, and Kaikhusrau ascended into the air. On the same day the

"happy lots are distributed among the people of the earth" (p. 201).

Here we get the familiar legends of the commemoration of creation, of the visit of the gods to the upper air, and of the ascension of a demiurge. But, as I said before, it was, above all, the festival of life beyond death. Al-Birūnī writes (p. 210):—

"The last five days of the month (i.e., Aban-Mah) the first of which is Ashtadī, are called Farwardajan. During this time people put food in the halls of the dead and drink on the roofs of the houses, believing that the spirits of the dead during these days come out from the places of their reward or punishment, that they go to the dishes laid out for them, imbibe their strength and suck their taste. They fumigate their houses with juniper, that the dead may enjoy its smell. The spirits of the pious men dwell among their families, children and relations, and occupy themselves with their affairs, although invisible to them. According to some they are the last five days . . . according to others they are the five Epagomene. . . ." (i.e., intercalary days).

Anquetil du Perron, describing the Parsi Fravardegan at Surat, describes an incarceration, similar to that of the Mandæans:—

"The houses are purified and decorated. They do not go out of the house."

Modern Parsis, like the Magians, described by Al-Birūnī, make during the five last days of the year and the five intercalary days which precede the New Year (the Gatha days), a special cult of the dead, honouring the *fravashis* or spirits of their ancestors, and mentioning their names at ritual meals. These latter, in conception and cult, are very near the ritual meals eaten by the Mandæans at Panja, which I mentioned above, as the five intercalary days placed by them in the spring. These ritual meals are linked with *dukhrana* or mentioning the dead by name. Not only the recently dead, but ancestors and the spirits of light from whom these derived their existence, are named, and thus summoned to help the living, or to help the recently dead through the toilsome climb through the phases of purification. The Mandæans believe that the souls of the dead refresh themselves with the spiritual doubles of the food eaten in their name, and thus the meal becomes a holy communion between those in the body and those out of it, an



idea perfectly paralleled by the Parsi *Yad*, or remembrance, and the belief that the dead are actually refreshed by the ritual meals.

Because of this communion with spirits of light and life, the Mandæan must live for these five days in a state of absolute purity, be baptized as often as possible, partaking of the sacraments of bread and water (compare the Parsi *myazda*), and pay the priests to eat the higher forms of the ritual meal known as the *masiqa* and the *zidqa briikha*. During all these meals the symbolisms of water, fruit, bread, and fresh myrtle, are linked plainly with the idea of fertility and life triumphant over death. It is the season when the cult-hut is purified and the dove sacrificed, and in every household the householder eats his daily bread, vegetables and fruit in the name of his dead relations. The Mandæans are not alone in this; the Yazidis assemble in the graveyards to eat a ritual meal in the name of their dead; the Nestorians kill a sheep and eat a love-feast in the name of dead relations (they also use the word *dukhrana*), while the Shiah Moslems eat cakes called *kleycha*, shaped and marked like our hot-cross-buns for Good Friday, "the name of the dead." The *mentioning* (the verb *dkr* means to mention, and thereby call to mind and actually summon) or *dukhrana* is, in all these cases, taken to mean invocation of the presence of the spirits of the dead.

Two other Mandæan feasts are reminiscent of ancient New Year conceptions. One is called the *nauruz zota*, or Little New Year. All lights and

fires must be extinguished during the feast, which lasts for two days and the night between them, and ritual meals are eaten for the dead, and food distributed to the poor. Mandæan priests visit each house in turn, and hang on the lintel a wreath of willow and myrtle, a custom which recalls the visit of the Yazidi *kawwāls* to the houses of their village at the spring festival to hang garlands over the doors. The descent and resurrection of Tammuz are especially evident in the celebration of the *dihba hnina* or Little Feast, which now falls at the end of November. It commemorates the descent of *hibil ziwa* (the Light-Giver), into the seven underworlds of darkness in search of Ruha, who symbolizes the physical spirit of man. His descent and triumphal return with the pregnant Ruha has analogies, it is true, with the story of Eros and Psyche, but still more with the ancient myths of the descent of the light god into the dominions of darkness and death and his victorious return, bringing with him the fertility of spring and the promise of resurrection. Again, it is a time when ritual meals are eaten for the dead. Not only does the ancient belief of the refreshment of the dead enter these meals, but that equally ancient belief which inspires our own sacraments, that the wheat which dies and rises again, and the water which changes dry dust into living green are only repetitions of the old mystery that death can be made the gate of life. The tag, without which no Mandæan prayer is perfect, exactly expressed it: "And Life is victorious."

#### Egypt.

THE ZAAR OF EGYPT. By Eva Garzouzi.

Garzouzi.

**253** The *Zaar* is a performance somewhat similar to the *Zikr*<sup>1</sup> but differently motivated. Literally, the word is a derivative of the verb 'to visit' and implies the intermittent visit of some wicked sprite; in practice, it is generally known to connote the gathering of some women, headed over by a woman called *konia* with the purpose of exercising evil spirits. No definite place is appointed for the performance of the *Zaar*; it is either held in private homes or at the house of the *konia*, its attendance, however, being strictly limited to women.

Unlike the *Zikr*, the *Zaar* is neither inspired nor practised with religious motives. It contradicts religion, and government officials are trying to suppress its very occurrence. Being one of the very old customs, it has lost, with the advent of modern times, much of its former popularity, and, as a matter of fact, it only owes its existence at the present time to some very emotive, bigoted women of the lower classes. These women are so primitive that they are led to attribute any more or less serious ailment that may befall them to the action of inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> The *Zikr* is a religious institution which has existed in Egypt since the beginning of time. Literally, the word means 'remembrance' and is extended to connote remembering God. In practice, it implies the congregation of some pious elders on the occasion of a

festivity, or on any other occasion, for the sake of carrying on devotional exercises. Neither time nor place is assigned to the performance of the *Zikr*. The worshippers, therefore, assemble, as circumstances permit, in a private home, or in the street.



of the underworld (*afarit*, as they call them). Medical assistance being flatly waived by them as inefficient, they resort to the *konia's* advice, thus committing themselves to her interested care, and, eventually, being prevailed upon into believing that the *Zaar* is their only cure. It should be added, however, that to the educated Egyptian lady the *Zaar* means nothing more than an insipid ordeal practised by illiterate narrow-minded women.

A few words should be said in order to give the reader a notion of the personality of the one woman who activates this whole performance, or who makes it a performance at all: the *konia*. The *konia* is a sort of magician who, owing to her knowledge of spells and charms, commands awe and fear to the simple souls that surround her and is appealed to in all cases of emergency. People go to her for consultations and follow her suggestions whatever her verdict of the case may be. The power which she is presumed to possess, and the integral faith placed in her words, give to the performance that spirit of mysticism which seems to us only scornful ridicule.

There are certain devices which usually attend this kind of performance. These devices are contrived and got ready by the *konia* herself. They consist in securing the help of a *Zaar* conductor and his assistants, tambourine players, and dancers; of preparing special dresses for the possessed; of providing the necessary items for the meeting, namely, beverages of all kinds to refresh the guests, a large brass tray bordered by seven candles on which are disposed all sorts of sweetmeats, including dates, almonds and raisins, and one or more sheep which are brought alive and slain near the end of the performance. The expenditure for such preparations, in addition to a supplementary fee for her trouble, are paid to the *konia* in advance by her clients. The richness, therefore, of the presentation may vary according to the client's financial means: some women are known to spend over £200 on this occasion, while others sell even their jewellery in order to afford it. A few have it performed as a yearly celebration indispensable to their moral as well as physical welfare. Still, whenever a *Zaar* is being held, lots of them rush in crowds, attracted by the sound of the drum.

Now to the performance itself. The *konia* and the spectators seat themselves cross-legged on the ground. The conductor of the *Zaar*

begins the wearisome, uniform songs appropriate to the circumstances, while the dancers revolve around, urging the people to follow their example. The possessed, dressed in long, snowy white garments, take hold of the sheep and lead it several times around the brass tray; then, excited into action by the dancers, they fall in cadence with the music. The dancers suddenly become more and more active, the music grows stronger, each drum beat is a whip activating this assembly of demoniacs. Gradually, the possessed are worked into a state of frenzy. Now they are indulging in frantic movements: some tear up their clothes with excitement, others shriek wildly, a few beat their faces in token of lamentation . . . and the sad, wearying music still grows louder and louder like some mighty storm. Finally, the possessed fall down, one by one, exhausted. When all have fallen, the music comes to a deadly stop. Presently, the *konia* approaches each one in turn, takes hold of her wrist, and enjoins the devil present in her body to respond about his origin and his demands. The *konia* only can hear the devil's answer.

According to her, he may either be a Christian or a Mohammedan. Consequently, either a cross or a crescent is drawn on the gown of the possessed with the blood of the slain sheep. A silver coin is dipped in that same blood and given in the sequel to the possessed, who will have it bound in a leather case and wear it always as a charm. Finally, the *konia* bids the devil leave his victim in peace, promising to comply with his wishes. A pottery jar is put in the centre of the room and the devil is supposed to make his exit through this jar, thus breaking it. This ceremonial is repeated with each of the possessed; when all of them have been rid of their devils they are awakened. Calm and rested, they convoke the gathering to the banquet which has been prepared, meantime, by special cooks, in their honour. All help themselves to the treat ravenously and an extra supply is given to the *konia*.

The demands of the devil may vary greatly. They are either a cross, bracelets, rings or beads with which the possessed will have to adorn themselves. Occasionally, the devil asks for fowls which will have to be handed down the next day to the *konia* for an offering. Devils vary in taste, Sudanese ones are said to be very



fond of beads, but all are very particular as to the satisfaction of their wishes. Unsatisfied devils are very dangerous; wildly furious, they

come back in their victims, and, with renewed wrath, may cause to them evil from which they may suffer for a life time.

#### Oceania

#### NUMERALS FROM EASTER ISLAND.

By A. Métraux, Member of Franco-Belgian Expedition to Easter Island, Ethnologist on the staff of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawaii. (cf. MAN, 1936, 120.)

Métraux

**254** In MAN, 1936, 120, a note by Mr. Alan S. C. Ross points out that the first vocabulary collected on Easter Island (1770) during the short stay of the Gonzalez expedition, contains a list of numbers from one to ten which is entirely different from the list of numbers given to Captain Cook on his visit to the island four years later. Cook's list of numerals not only conforms to the ordinary Polynesian terminology, but is, in fact, identical with the names for the ten first numbers which are used on Easter Island to-day. It is most unlikely that in a lapse of only four years the Easter Islanders changed the names of the numbers, so if the list given by Agüera<sup>1</sup> is correct, it must be concluded that there was simultaneously two distinct nomenclatures on Easter Island, one Polynesian and the other of unknown origin. Mr. Ross seems inclined to consider this second system as the survival of an old language, but he states that he is unable to link it with any other list of numbers he has examined in other languages, either Oceanic or Indian.

The first question to be considered is whether there was some mistake on the part of the collector. It must be remembered that the Spanish who were the first white men to land on the island after its discovery by Roggewein, in 1722, had no interpreters and that they recorded information, as Agüera says, by "making use" of signs, demonstrations, and figures shown by "drawings." As a matter of fact, a great many words of this vocabulary are perfectly accurate—despite inadequate phonetics—especially those referring to things which could be easily pointed out with the fingers and about which a mistake was hardly possible. Nevertheless, I think that Mr. Ross has slightly exaggerated the value of this vocabulary by stressing only the words which were correctly recorded. The mistakes have also to be recognized.

The following list will illustrate the errors which are only too evident in the Spanish records.

In the first column are listed the native names given by Agüera and preceded by the translations; in the second column are shown the real Easter Island words and translations.

young woman :	<i>cotataqui</i>	<i>uka, vie.</i>
old woman :	<i>copocopoco</i>	Probably <i>ko pokopoko</i> (it is the womb).
banana :	<i>cocay</i>	Probably <i>ko kai</i> (it is food).
figs :	<i>gecoy</i>	Probably <i>he kai</i> (there is food, or he is eating.)
clothed idols :	<i>copeca</i>	Probably <i>lopeka</i> (revenge). Such idols called <i>paina</i> were erected on the place where a man was killed.
high chief or lord :	<i>tequeteque</i>	There is no such word for chief.
air :	<i>tetuba</i>	Word perhaps related with <i>tauaki</i> (to expose to the air).
fire :	<i>cotierpe</i>	The word for fire is <i>ahi</i> . The native word obtained by the Spaniards must have been incorrectly transcribed from the manuscript because the group "rp" does not exist in the Easter Island dialect.
smoke :	<i>puina</i>	Probably some word connected with <i>puhi</i> (to blow).
the ocean :	<i>geray</i>	Probably a misspelling for <i>he vai</i> (it is water).
hut or dwelling :	<i>geveca</i>	Probably confused with <i>he vaka</i> (it is a boat). The word for house on Easter Island is the old Polynesian, <i>hare</i> .
calabash for water :	<i>geracona</i>	The different words for calabash are <i>hue</i> , <i>hipu</i> , <i>pahahera</i> , <i>kaba</i> . The word <i>he rakona</i> has something to do with the mysterious word for water, <i>canocano</i> .
hands :	<i>comangamanga</i>	<i>Ko mangamanga</i> definitely means they are fingers.
belly :	<i>colino</i>	<i>Tino</i> means the body.
back :	<i>cotuorbi</i>	Probably a misspelling by the editor for <i>ko tua iui</i> (it is the back bone).
genitalia :	<i>yemaropao</i>	Probably <i>he maro pua</i> (it is a stained loin cloth).
priest of the idol :	<i>Maca Maca</i>	<i>Makemake</i> is the name of the principal god of Easter Island, the equivalent of Tane.
to dance :	<i>viritejue</i>	Probably <i>viri te hue</i> (to turn round the calabash—used under the resounding board).

This list which could be lengthened shows that Agüera's vocabulary is far from flawless, but

<sup>1</sup> The Author of the *Journal of the Gonzalez Expedition* is probably Don Francisco Antonio de Agüera y Infanzon, Chief Pilot.



considering the inaccuracy of most of the vocabularies made under like circumstances, it is rather good. I know by my experience among South American Indians how hopeless it is to collect an accurate vocabulary without the help of an interpreter. Even when such simple things are asked for as parts of the body, mistakes easily arise. How often one gets the word for moustache instead of for mouth, for hair instead of for head, and so on. When one goes from concrete objects to abstractions such as numerals, it is almost impossible to overcome the difficulties of making one's informant understand what one really means. Even on Easter Island, where excellent informants who speak good Spanish are available, it is sometimes hard to get the exact meaning of a word or to get its true translation. I have only to recall my own difficulties when I tried to learn the pronouns. The percentage of errors in Agüera's vocabulary and an appreciation of the circumstances in which it was collected necessitates caution in its use, the more so since it is at variance with Cook's vocabulary which was obtained four years later under more favourable conditions, in so far as Cook had on board a Tahitian interpreter. Would Mr. Ross consider as remnants of a special language all the mistakes I have indicated above? Would he not better credit them to the normal errors apt to appear in such documents? Thus it is not 'out of the question' that Agüera might have been misled. One must remember that these supposed numerals have a definite Polynesian aspect. Some of them could be translated; but, as we do not know what the informant had in his mind when he collected them, it is preferable to refrain from any gratuitous hypothesis.

If we were to admit that this list of numbers is exact, as a nomenclature used on the island in 1770, should we then infer that there were remnants of a non-Polynesian language on the island of which these numbers are the only survivals? Not at all! It is quite possible that on Easter Island there were two different sets of number names, one Polynesian and the other

forged on the island for whatever purpose. In the Tuamotus such cases are frequent and well known. The Tuamotuan Expedition of Bishop Museum collected on various islands of the Tuamotus, several lists of numerals completely different from the ordinary Polynesian ones. In addition to the aberrant names these islanders also had the ordinary Polynesian numerals. It cannot be contended that the peculiar numeric names are remnants of a long lost language and that the ordinary Polynesian words are of later introduction, since the sacred chants—certainly very old—contain the current Polynesian names. The aberrant names must be taken as local variations, the origin of which we cannot understand. As an example I shall list the numerals of Napuka which are parallel to the Tahitian ones:

Napukan	Tahitian	Napukan	Tahitian
rari	tahi or hoe	hene	ono
ite	piti or rua	tika	hitu
geti	toru	hava	varu
ope	maha	gohuru	iaa
mihe	pae or rima	tapahi reka	ahuru.

Obviously no one would wish to doubt the pure Polynesian character of the Tuamotuans simply because they have in their language two ways of naming numbers. Nothing in the Easter Island dialect suggests the influence of a non-Polynesian language. There is no precedent wherein a language borrows from another the names for numbers, taking no other words. Right or wrong the list of numbers of Agüera's vocabulary does not give any new evidence for the existence of two cultures on Easter Island.

The researches made by Dr. Lavachery and by me during five months on Easter Island convince us of the perfect archaeological unity of this Polynesian culture and of its relatively recent importations to the island. The only aberrant characteristic in Easter Island culture is that of the tablets, and I am not at all convinced that Mr. de Hevezy's comparison with India is as 'incontrovertible' as Mr. Ross thinks it to be. Elsewhere, I hope to have the opportunity to discuss that question.

India: Blood-Groups

**BLOOD-GROUPS OF THE PRE-DRAVIDIANS**  
A. Aiyappan, M.A., Government Museum Madras.

**255** Kappers<sup>1</sup> and Parr<sup>2</sup> in their recent studies of the races of the Near East have

**OF THE WYNAD PLATEAU, INDIA.** By Aiyappan.

demonstrated that 'blood-typing data on an area controlled by anthropometric measure-

<sup>1</sup> Kappers, C. U. Ariens, 1930: 'Contributions to the Anthropology of the Near East.'

<sup>2</sup> Parr, L. W., 1931: 'Blood Studies on the Peoples of Western Asia and North Africa,' *Am. Journ. of Phys. Anth.*, xvi, 16-29.



ments give evidence that the blood-typing approach to the study of anthropology has value.' The jungle tribes of South India have



FIG. 1. PANIYANS: (left to right) MAN (B), WOMAN (A) WITH HER CHILD, MAN (A).

been known for a long time to be the representatives of an extremely primitive strain of *Homo sapiens*, closely allied to the Veddahs of Ceylon and to the aboriginals of Australia.<sup>3</sup> Recent investigations have shown that the strain represented in a comparatively pure condition by the jungle tribes is not a mere survival in racial cul-de-sacs, but also permeates the lower castes of the general populations of the plains.<sup>4</sup> The problems in view, therefore, in the present investigation were (i) whether serological tests would support and supplement the physical anthropologist's findings regarding the affinity of the hill-tribes of South India with Australians and (ii) what serological relationship exists between the higher Hindu castes and the hill-tribes.

Pre-Dravidian, Veddojd, and Nishadic have been used by various investigators as synonymous terms to describe the tribes and the racial strain referred to above. Since the first of these terms has gained great currency, and is, in fact, the oldest in use, it is advisable to retain it in conformity with the usual biological convention in nomenclature.

Physically the Pre-Dravidians are a good example of an extremely 'generalized' race. As in the Veddahs the infantile nature of the face strikes the attention of the observer first. The face is round, with prominent cheek bones, broad nose, retreating chin, and exceedingly sparse facial hair in the males. Short in stature, they have a proportionately longer torso. A moderate degree of prognathism was present in about 79 per cent. of the sample of the Paniyans of Wynad investigated by me.

This tribe was selected as the starting point of the present study because they are more isolated and in a purer state than most other Pre-Dravidian tribes. Wynad is a bastion-like highland thrust seaward by the Deccan plateau into Malabar, from the plains of which it rises abruptly to a height of about three thousand feet. A thick belt of moist ever-green forest fences it off from Malabar and a thick zone of malaria-ridden bamboo jungle from Mysore. People from the plains have been penetrating slowly into the Wynad from the twelfth century A.D. onwards,<sup>5</sup>



FIG. 2. SIDE-VIEW OF MAN IN FIG. 1.



FIG. 3. TYPICAL PANIYAN WOMAN FROM FIG. 1: NOTE THE INFANTILE FEATURES.

but they have not yet made a success of the venture numerically or biologically. Any large-scale admixture with the Paniyans has not taken

<sup>3</sup> Haddon, A. C., 1924: 'Races of Man,' Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> Guha, B. S., 1935: 'Indian Census Report, I, Part III—A.'

<sup>5</sup> Richards, F. J., 1932: 'Cultural Geography of Wynad Indian Antiquary,' lxi, 170-174, 195-197.



place because of the great sexual jealousy of the tribal code, the poor stamina of the penetrating people, and their fear of and dependence on the Paniyan labour-force which is extremely unmanageable. Until recently the Paniyans were a very wild people, not hesitating to murder a man from the plains for the sake of a piece of white cotton cloth on him. Not long ago they were living in caves and rock shelters, as some members of the tribe do even now in the deeper regions of the jungles. According to the recent census they number, in all, 32,410 in the Wynad and adjoining taluks of Malabar.

It has to be pointed out at this stage that the Australians, Veddahs and Paniyans, in spite of the general resemblances that they bear to one another, are differentiated by several anatomical characteristics, especially of the face. The aboriginal Australian has none of the infantile features of the Paniyan, and has a greater stature than either the Paniyan or the Veddah. The Australian is hairier than the two latter. The Paniyan is prognathous while the Veddah is orthognathous, the former has his superciliary ridges less prominent than the Veddah and the Australian. The Australian is more variable in skin colour than the Veddah



FIG. 4. TYPICAL MAN (A) AND WOMAN (O).



FIG. 5. AN OLD COUPLE.

and Paniyan, who range about 27 of Von Luschan's scale.

We know nothing of the blood-typing of the Veddahs, so we have to leave them out in the

following discussion of the serological affinities of the Australians and Pre-Dravidians. The Veddahs are, moreover, so much 'mixed' that blood-typing may not yield any significant data.<sup>6</sup>



FIG. 6. A PANIYAN HUT.

Two hundred and fifty Paniyans belonging to three different settlements were 'typed' by the open slide method using two or three drops of blood. The standard serum was supplied by the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, through Prof. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S., under whose direction this work was done.

The following are the data obtained :—

Blood groups				Race Index	Frequencies.		
O	A	B	AB		p	q	r
50 20%	156 62.4%	19 7.6%	25 10%	4.11	4.68	0.85	4.47

The Australian has O 57 per cent., A 38.5 per cent., B 3.0 per cent., AB 1.5 per cent. and a racial index 8.8.<sup>7</sup> Comparison with the data for the Australians shows that the Paniyans bear no close resemblance to them, but both agree in having an extremely small percentage of B group. Von Eickstedt made an interesting suggestion that the Pre-Dravidians may be regarded as the Palæ-Europid type, a suggestion which the blood-group data support.<sup>8</sup> In a correlation table of the values of p and q for various races the Paniyans will be placed very near the Lapps and

<sup>6</sup> Private Communication from Prof. W. C. O. Hill, Colombo.

<sup>7</sup> Ottenberg, R., 1926: 'The Relationship of Races as

shown by Blood Characteristics,' *Nat. Hist.*, xxvi, 80-84.

<sup>8</sup> Eickstedt, Baron von, 1934: 'Mysore Tribes and Castes,' vol. I, Bangalore.



other peoples of Western Europe. The Paniyans differ from the Australians in having a much lower percentage of O (20 against 57 of the latter) which, according to the hypotheses of Snyder, Bernstein and Gates, is the most primitive group, A and B having arisen as subsequent mutations. Typing, however, a sample of 84 Central Australian natives, Cleland found 38.1 per cent. O, and 61.9 per cent. A.<sup>9</sup> If further research confirm that bigger series than that typed by Cleland have also a similarly high percentage of A, then we shall be able to say that in spite of minor differences in physical characters, serologically the Paniyans and the Central Australians are closely linked.

Blood-group data support physical anthropology in distinguishing the Pre-Dravidians from

the higher caste Hindus. The Maharattas of Goa, in the neighbourhood of the main Pre-Dravidian region, are 29.25 per cent. O, 26.75 per cent. A, 34 per cent. B, and 10 per cent. AB.<sup>10</sup> They are, like the rest of the Hindus typed, high in B. It may be possible that the non-tribal Hindu population is a mixture of the Pre-Dravidian with the very high percentage of A and another racial strain high in B. The 7.6 per cent. B in the Paniyans may have been introduced through miscegenation with the men of the plains which, though of an imperceptible kind, has been going on since the importation of large numbers of estate colliers from the plains. Systematic investigation may reveal 'pure' groups high in B in other strategic spots in India's physical anthropology.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY AT 256 ATHENS: Jubilee Exhibition of Archaeological Discoveries in Greece and Crete.

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, the British School of Archaeology at Athens has organized an exhibition illustrating British Archaeological Discoveries in Greece and Crete 1886-1936, which was inaugurated by H.R.H. The Duke of Kent on 13 October and remains open until 14 November, in the galleries of the Royal Academy of Arts at Burlington House.

The Exhibition consists of three parts. To celebrate the completion of his great work on *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, Sir Arthur Evans has arranged an exhibit illustrative of the Minoan civilization, with special reference to his own discoveries at Knossos, which were made in close association with the British School at Athens, and with the assistance of its students and especially of its successive architects. In this Minoan Room are exhibited coherently for the first time originals and reproductions of the masterpieces of Minoan craftsmanship and a singularly complete representation of all aspects of Minoan life, more especially of its cults and ritual, and of its decorative arts. Sir Arthur Evans's own unique collection of engraved gems and signet rings furnishes priceless material in these respects, and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford has lent many objects of the first importance. The Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge sends its marble goddess, and Captain E. G. Spencer Churchill a remarkable bronze representation of the characteristic Minoan 'bull-grappling.' There is also an instructive series of original inscribed tablets, and an exhibit of the fount of Minoan type prepared by the Clarendon Press in

anticipation of the decipherment of this baffling script.

Two adjacent rooms illustrate the excavations of the British School itself, on prehistoric sites in Melos, in Eastern Crete, and at Mycenae, and on early Hellenic sites at Sparta and at Perachora, near Corinth: the two last have laid firm archaeological foundation for the early history of Sparta itself, and of the industrial and commercial relations of Corinth, before its prosperity was undermined and its craftsmanship surpassed by the later emergence of Athens. Other exhibits show the great variety and significance of the studies pursued at the British School, and especially its contributions to the prehistoric archaeology of Thessaly, Macedonia, Lesbos, and what might be generally described as the 'background of Troy.' There are also illustrations of modern Greek folk plays and other survivals of ancient customs and industries such as the primitive oil-presses, and the making of gigantic clay store-jars with what is rather a turntable than a potter's wheel. A series of restored models shows for the first time the earliest domestic architecture of Greece, from models of houses dedicated in the little sanctuary at Perachora.

No less interesting in their relation to the age-long pageant of Greek civilization, is the voluminous (and mainly unpublished) series of measured drawings of Byzantine churches, and their splendid frescoes and mosaics, the forty years achievement of the Byzantine Research Fund, which has always been intimately associated with the British School at Athens, and has drawn all its successive workers from among its students.

The wide scope and high quality of the British School's output of research finds striking illustration

<sup>9</sup> Gates, R. R.: 'Blood Groups and Physiognomy' of British Columbia Coastal Indians, *J.R. Anth. Inst.*, lxiv, 23-44.

<sup>10</sup> Correia, Lt.-Col. A. C. G. da S., 1934: 'Les

'groupes sanguins des Mahrattes de l'Inde Portugaise.' Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques. Compte-rendu de la première Session, Londres, pp. 86-87.



in the bookstall, which is furnished almost wholly with the publications of former directors and students.

In connexion with this Exhibition, a course of eight lectures is being given on some of the principal topics which it illustrates. On 4 November Mr. Theodore Fyfe will speak on *Byzantine Architecture*,

on 6 November Professor J. P. Droop on *The Art of the Excavator*, and on 11 November Miss Winifred Lamb on *The Background of Troy*. Each lecture is followed by a demonstration, in the exhibition galleries, of the principal antiquities of the period and styles which have been discussed.

J. L. M.

## REVIEWS.

### OCEANIA.

**Coral Gardens and Their Magic. A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands.** By B. Malinowski. Volume I: *The Description of Gardening*. Volume II: *The Language of Magic and Gardening*. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1935.

xxv + 500 pp.; xxvii + 350 pp., illustrated. Price £2 2s.

This work is an important addition to Malinowski's studies on the Trobriand Islanders; not only a minute description of a type of agriculture and magic in the South Seas, but also a new scheme for the sociological analysis of Culture. In its scope this, like the author's other studies of Melanesia, contributes not only to the ethnology of the islands but to the understanding of Human Society in general. As a sociologist I confine myself to these wider implications.

The first volume, a standard description of a primitive economic system, outlines the agricultural work in minutest detail, and describes the interdependence of gardening economy and other aspects of native culture. We are shown how agriculture is linked with the social organization and, through the marriage gift, with the kinship system; and how the surplus product lies at the root of tribal authority and of the chieftain's leading power. We realize the inter-relation of all fundamental human activities in a primitive community, especially the imprint given by gardening to the legal order. But economy reacts not only upon social reorganization and practical affairs: the magical superstructure also is moulded by the gardening system, even as this latter determines the æsthetic attitudes and constitutes the real measure of time.

Those sociologists who stress the importance of the economic basis in society often attribute its dominating influence to the rise of the capitalist system. Even radical Marxians like Lukács admit that in pre-capitalistic systems and especially with 'primitives,' the 'spiritual' rather than the 'economic' factor prevails. Malinowski seems to establish the opposite. The more limited the technique and hence the smaller the range of possibilities, the more the community depends on the nature of its economy and the more directly are attitudes moulded by the basic functions of practical life. It is only large-scale industrial technique which creates a greater range of potentialities—a great amount of leisure, highly differentiated social functions, and thus a set of attitudes not directly dependant on the necessities of production and consumption.

The functional method of Malinowski drives home the original setting of cultural activities. When you watch with him magic operating in the gardening team you realize that it is not merely an item of a coherent Weltanschauung, detached from practical needs, but an agency integrating attitudes and organizing co-operation. The many mystico-romantic theories of magic are only too often due to the fanciful abstraction of 'intellectuals' who rely on literature depicting magic as a self-contained human reflection, and project their own highly differentiated attitudes into the primitive mind.

If one understands by 'functional method' the careful observation of how human activities fulfil a definite purpose, how one institution is adjusted to another, how the different activities in a community integrate—the chapters on Land Tenure may be considered representative. Here, through the very way of presentation, which is that of a riddle to be solved, we learn how for a long time the ethnographer was puzzled by a set of 'facts,' nonsensical as long as they merely occurred to him in isolation. It was only subsequently, when he detected the four fundamental principles which in that matrilineal society underlie all claims to land, that he understood how the legal system enters as an active force into the sphere of production and consumption.

These two chapters, the best illustration of Malinowski's 'functional' method, present the sociologist with a methodological query. If functional method means the study of human activities and social institutions not in isolation, but in their interdependence and in their bearing on the life of the individual, one cannot but go further and ask whether there is only one way of fulfilling a given function adequately. Take Trobriand society as it stands, on the basis of a definite agricultural technique, of an economic organization of systematic fishing and trading activities, and a certain form of kinship, as described by Malinowski. His explanation of the working rules of the system of ownership is convincing; they are no extravagancies of an exotic community, but appropriate working principles with a definite pragmatic character. The different institutional elements are not interchangeable with corresponding elements of other cultures without upsetting the nature of the whole. After the achievements of the functional approach, the purely formal comparison of different institutions in different societies appears to be pre-scientific; neither are historical speculations, based exclusively on a combination of formal elements, satisfactory as far as their immediate sociological outcome is concerned.

None the less, the more one penetrates with Malinowski into the existing configuration of institutions, the more one is driven to ask: why is it that just those factors and not others fulfil the functions in question? Why is it, e.g., that in a number of adjacent islands, belonging to the same area of Melanesia, corresponding functions are fulfilled in a different way? In other words, any function detected and defined by the anthropologist or the sociologist still leaves open a limited range of possible solutions of which only one happened to be realized in a given instance. Thus the description of a system of function does not necessarily eliminate a certain latent ambiguity.

If we assume that a balanced society with a long-established order represents, under its unchanged conditions, more or less of an optimum of adjustment to its natural human situation, then, in principle, the rational interpretation of culture demands a full exposition of all factors accounting not only for the functional balance



of institutions within a given community, but also for its uniqueness and its differences from other human groups. In other words, if by 'rational' we understand neither a speculative assumption nor a mental attitude, but rather an approach to a complex social reality, or (better still) a criterion of sociological interpretation—then a rational exposition of a given culture will disclose all elements (ecological, biological, and historical) of that particular human situation to which the whole corresponding social reality offers the optimum adjustment. Or, alternatively, as the case may be, the sociologist has to detect possible deviations from the optimum pattern and thus to depict a maladjusted but working social mechanism.

For that reason the 'functional' method seeks completion by the 'genetic' point of view and the comparative method. In sociology the comparative method, in so far as it draws upon a functionally elaborated material, throws light on the variety of ways in which the same function can be fulfilled in different social settings. The historico-genetic study of social groups helps us to understand how just that particular configuration of historically established institutions satisfies the needs of man in a given society. In all cases where evidence is lacking, the historical approach is to be ruled out. In the present state of science the historical aspect will in many cases certainly not enter the field of Anthropology, at least not without losing its scientific character. But a broad avenue will be opened for comparative studies in Anthropology when a certain amount of material analyzed on functional lines becomes available.

The second volume deals with linguistic problems. In very close connexion with the pragmatist's approach, language is taken here not as a means of expression, or as a double of the mental process, but as an active part of human behaviour. Speech is an equivalent to gesture and to action. Here Malinowski works out his theory (first put forward by him in his appendix to Ogden and Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*) according to which it is the original context that matters: we do not understand speech and language as long as we separate it from the context in which it originates. It is not very difficult to detect that the idea of context is nothing but the linguistic application of the functional method. Just as the other activities and institutions are to be understood only if their original function is defined, speech itself reveals its full meaning only if we grasp its function in the actual circumstances of its utterance.

This idea of 'context' is very fruitful. A very similar approach grew up in German sociology on quite different foundations, in the branch of investigation called 'Sociology of Knowledge.' Here the leading idea is that the nature of knowledge is nearly always determined by the nature of the social situation. Malinowski's linguistic approach has also its epistemological implications. These two methods should be brought into closer co-operation since they both contain the elements of a new approach to culture, a sociological interpretation of meaning.

Malinowski distinguishes, according to the nature of the context in which it occurs, five main types of speech: (1) pragmatic speech; (2) educational speech; (3) legal-ceremonial utterances; (4) narrative; and (5) mere gossip. "Language is in its inception both magical and pragmatic. It is charged with a mystical effectiveness and is used as a working tool." (II, 231.) His main concern is to reveal both the pragmatic and the magical aspect of the Trobriand language. Since language, work, and magical activity are closely connected in the life of the native, the descriptive analysis

of Vol. I and the linguistic commentaries of Vol II are but one unit considered from two aspects.

One is bound to agree with the author's technique of presentation; more precisely, with his sincere attempt to keep his exposition clear from personal interpretations. Wherever possible, the author and fieldworker goes back to that which really occurs and does not record native statements as established facts. He observes throughout a clear distinction between expressed moral claims and actual rules of conduct. His frank disclosure of gaps in his account ought to become a moral pattern for scientific workers.

Through his persistent and intensive analysis of a single culture, Malinowski has advanced right up to the border line of what one might call General Sociology, a comprehensive tableau of the factors operative in human society and their determining rôle in their cultural diversifications. The pre-conditions of a further step on this path are already given in his previous work. His earlier writings on religion and magic, on myth, on primitive law, and sex behaviour, show a clear tendency towards the comparative application of the author's field-experience. This perspective promises to open a field of fruitful co-operation between Anthropology and Sociology.

KARL MANNHEIM.

**Report of the Royal Commissioner appointed to Investigate, Report, and Advise upon matters in relation to the Condition and Treatment of Aborigines (Western Australia).** By the Commissioner, Mr. D. H. Moseley. Published by the Government of Western Australia, 1935. 24 pp.

The condition of the remaining twenty-nine thousand aborigines in Western Australia has, during the past few years, attracted a considerable amount of public interest, of which the present volume is the outcome. The Report is a comprehensive and carefully balanced summary of the evidence presented to the Commission. But, since there is no doubt of the Commissioner's thoroughness and impartiality, it seems that such evidence has not been adequate to reveal the extent and seriousness of the abuses which, it is admitted, occur in "isolated cases" (p. 22). The reason for this is not far to seek. The native is notoriously reticent and unwilling to make complaints—he is afraid of anything which he does not understand, and the European machinery of official inquiry certainly falls into this category. On the other hand there are obvious reasons why it is difficult to obtain relevant information from the white man. Thus an itinerant Commissioner must necessarily experience difficulty in reaching a true appreciation of the position.

One of the chief merits of the Report is its assessment of the work of the Aborigines Department. Much of the criticism of the general treatment of natives in Western Australia has been quite unjustifiably taken as applying to the administration of the Department. The Report rightly attributes the shortcomings of the present system to the miserably small grant at present placed at the disposal of the Chief Protector, whose interest in the welfare of the natives is well known. The inadequacy of the funds provided by the Government emerges very clearly from an analysis of the table on p. 23, which shows that in 1933 the cost of administration per native in the various states was as follows:

Queensland	...	...	...	£ s. d.
New South Wales	...	...	...	2 8 6
South Australia	...	...	...	5 9 3
Western Australia	...	...	...	6 15 0
	...	...	...	0 19 6

The Commissioner rightly condemns the present system



of having a Chief Protector in Perth who has neither the time nor the funds to see much of the natives at first hand, and recommends the appointment of paid Divisional Protectors who can be on the spot and devote their whole time to native affairs.

The Commissioner points out the need for a knowledge of native lore and customs by those officials who have to deal with 'bush' natives. It is anomalous that the Australian Governments, which subsidize a Chair of Anthropology at the University of Sydney, where administrators from the Mandated Territory of New Guinea receive systematic instruction, should not make full use of the facilities thus provided for the training of those officials to whom they entrust the administration of native affairs in Australia itself.

The Report recommends many salutary reforms, which, as the Commissioner points out, are long overdue; the Aborigines Act at present in force "remains virtually "as it was passed almost thirty years ago" (p. 19). The appointment of a Royal Commission may be taken as an earnest of the present Government's intention to take immediate action towards an improvement in the condition of the aborigines. RALPH PIDDINGTON.

**Papuans of the Trans-Fly.** By F. E. Williams. Oxford University Press, 1935. xxvii + 452 pp., illustrated. Price £1 10s.

**259** Mr. Williams' earlier books have demonstrated that he can write solid readable ethnographic accounts in what might be called the old-fashioned manner. By this I mean he presented with painstaking details a vast number of facts on many subjects in the style of which Junod was the master. This present book follows the same tradition. It deals with the tribes occupying the territory west of the Fly delta in Papua. Mr. Williams made five expeditions to this area, spending 10 months there in all. Information was collected through interpreters. A list of some of the chapter headings will give an idea of the subjects he investigated: Sections and Moieties, Totems and Totem Groups, Family and Kin, Exchange-Marriage and Exogamy, Ceremonies of Birth, Initiation, Leadership, Regulation of Conduct, Myths, Sorcery, and Beliefs and Ceremonies surrounding Death. Several of these chapters are very good. The best is that on Sorcery.

With all its merits, however, this method has one big disadvantage. The facts are not arranged in accordance with any underlying plan, and as a result one fails to see the culture as a functioning whole. Each portion of the account remains separate, unrelated to the rest, and the people do not come alive. So in the section on feasts we read, "All the facts of food-production, exchange and consumption might be shown (by a greater analysis than I care or feel able to attempt) to fall into place with the facts of social organization. The rules that govern the use and ownership of land, the sharing of food and so on, even the fact that so many offences and disputes arise over the question of food, might provide material for a full treatment of its legal implications." It is just this very information which is required, and which modern field work attempts to provide. From a statement in the introduction one gathers that Mr. Williams himself realizes this, and as he has now been making a first-hand acquaintance with the recent advances in anthropological theory, one may expect even better work from him in the future. Detailed investigation would also enable him to supplement some of the stimulating hypotheses he appends as interpretations of his material, such as that exogamy arises out of a desire to widen social relations outside the local group, and that respect for the rights of others is the result of 'Group Sentiment' or

'Clannishness.' At present, since concrete instances are lacking, these hypotheses remain merely suggestive. H. IAN HOGGIN.

**Both Sides of Buka Passage.** By Beatrice Blackwood, B.Sc., M.A. London: Milford, 1936. 624 pp. Price 35s.

**260** Miss Blackwood deals with the north coast of Bougainville Island, and the adjacent island of Buka, Northern Solomon Islands. Her work was carried out in connexion with the Committee for Research on Problems of Sex, National Research Council, Washington, D.C. Her chief concern, therefore, was with sex matters, but an account is included of the cultural background of the peoples concerned. The matter of the book is mainly drawn from a study of conditions in the village of Kurtachi, on the coast of the mainland; but the author takes advantage also of her knowledge of various peoples on or around Buka. She also made journeys into the hills of the mainland. When she was inquiring into sex matters, the men ignored the fact that she was a woman, while the women accepted her as a member of the community, and permitted her to be present at parturition.

The book is written in a plain, easy style, with great wealth of detail. Convenient summaries and discussions are inserted in most of the chapters. The illustrations are excellent, and these are numerous text-figures. There is also an index and a map. The culture of Buka Island had long been subject to the influence of whites, to the loss of its original character. That of Kurtachi, however, is more or less in its original state, but is rapidly altering owing to the same reason.

The peoples described are matrilineal, with exogamous 'lineage,' two main clans, extra-village marriages. Married couples may, and do, live in either village. There is a growing tendency towards intra-village marriages, and marriage regulations are becoming less and less strict. The tie of blood is more important than that of clan, and endogamous marriages occur. There is a definite recognition of physical paternity, but in the tales the banana is credited with causing conception. Polygyny is common, especially among the ruling class. (For the lines on the palms of the hands (p. 43), said to be characteristic of certain clans, see Fox, *Threshold of the Pacific*, p. 13.)

The book deals at length with the puberty ceremonies of boys, and with the wearing of ceremonial hats, *upi*, by the initiates. No woman may see these boys without their hats; and if any one chanced to do so in the old days she was killed. The *upi* initiation ceremony has a definite connexion with the ghosts of the dead, *urar*, *amat*, and there is a ceremonial killing and resurrecting of the novices. This takes place secretly in the bush. Later on the novices return to the village for the 'capping' ceremony proper, which is done in public. The hats are worn for several years, and are finally removed at a ceremony when the hair is cut. They live in the village, but are separate and apart, and they avoid all women. The growth of hair seems to be the main feature connected with the wearing of the hats. The hair, when finally uncovered, hangs in long rolls to the waist. The boys undergo many restrictions in diet.

There is no sexual laxity before marriage, owing largely to the segregation of the boys; but modern conditions are affecting the morality of the unmarried girls. The ceremonies connected with the first menstruation of girls are given in detail, and the daily life and work of women and girls is told fully. Births are described, and the consequent care of children, and the ceremonies connected with the children of the ruling class.

The second part deals with food, gardening, the arts of



the people, economic matters, magic and medicine, death, cannibalism, the ideas held about ghosts and spirits, standing stones, death.

The religion of the peoples concerned is not specifically dealt with by the author; but it seems to have a definite connection with the ghosts (spirits) of the dead, *urar*: e.g., the giant *upi* figures, and the supposed action of the *urar* at the first *upi* ceremony; the bull-roarer; p. 471, the vengeance of the *urar* is guarded against; p. 475, the magic charms derive their power from association with the rulers of the dead; p. 477, the *urar* are propitiated; p. 479 (307), they are called upon in garden-planting ceremony, and in bonito fishing, p. 477; p. 279, they are invoked; p. 470, they help in war, etc. These are all in line with the worship in the Southern Solomons. There is also a recognition of non-human spirits, pp. 498, 524, and 'wild spirits' in the bush. One wonders whether these latter are the 'unowned' (wild) ghosts of the Southern Solomons?

WALTER IVENS.

**Die Verbreitung der Hausformen in Ozeanien.**

**261** By Herbert Tischner. Leipzig: Verlag der Werkgemeinschaft, 1934. 9 x 6 in. viii + 252 pp., with 6 figs and 9 distribution maps.

This is a sober and solid compilation, harmonizing

**PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.**

**Die Blutsverwandtschaft im Volk und in der Familie.**

**262** By Walther Jankowsky. Stuttgart: Erwin Nägele, 1934. 166 pp., figs. 48. Price 7-20 marks bound, 6 marks unbound.

The Germans have attacked the problem of personality from various points of view, and this book is a contribution to that subject. It considers afresh the parts played by heredity and environment in the development of the individual, and discusses, with examples, what are known as *Doppelgänger*, i.e., unrelated persons who are sufficiently similar to be mistaken for each other. The biological significance of similarity without personal relationships is discussed at length.

At the end is given a form of analysis of the personality. This includes place of birth of parents, grandparents and great-grandparents; colour of skin, hair and eyes; form and treatment of the hair; anthropometric measurements such as height, cephalic index, nasal height and breadth, shoulder breadth; bodily type, peculiarities of feature, movements; interests in sport, art, science or politics; diseases; intelligence, temperament, character, blood group; use of alcohol and tobacco; brief life history. The last pages are devoted to a number of such analyses, with photographs of the persons concerned.

An unnecessary defect of the book is that it is printed almost wholly in Gothic characters. There is no excuse for this in a book which aims to reach an international scientific audience.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

**Manual Skill: Its Organisation and Development.**

**263** By J. W. Cox. Cambridge: University Press, xx + 247 pp. Price 16s. net.

The author, a Research Fellow of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, has for some years been engaged in an experimental inquiry into the factors entering into manual skill. He finds a single 'general' factor of intelligence, which permeates all but perhaps the simplest manual operations; he finds a single 'mechanical' factor which is more prominent than the general factor and is common to tests of mechanical aptitude and to assembling operations; and he establishes a single 'manual' factor, also more

with its subject-matter. The author is critical of the attempt made by Hermann Frobenius, in his 'Oceanische Bautypen' (1899), to establish three 'Baukreise,' since this was based upon inadequate information concerning the types of buildings occurring in the area. Dr. Tischner has here gathered together a great number of descriptions of the forms and construction of habitations in Oceania, and he also deals with the uses to which the buildings have been put (e.g., men's houses, boat-houses, cooking-huts, etc.). There is a section on the ceremonial practices associated with house-building, and a list of native names for houses in relation to their purposes. The distribution maps are themselves an important contribution to the study of the subject, as is also the extensive bibliography.

In his 'Schlussbetrachtung' the author adopts an attitude of extreme caution, refusing to commit himself to theories of diffusion which are based on insufficient knowledge. He points out that before the many problems of the origin and spread of oceanic house-types can be solved, there will be needed a great number of arduous studies, not only of habitations, but of Oceanic cultures as a whole—and not only of Oceanic but of Indonesian as well. It would appear that Dr. Tischner regards the 'Kulturkreislehre' as premature, and perhaps indiscreet.

H. S. HARRISON.

prominent than the general factor, which plays but a small part in mechanical assembling, but is important in all manual tests and in manual work of a complex kind, but is accompanied by manual factors more or less specific to each particular group of similar operations in the simpler kinds of manual work.

Hitherto, intelligence, as indicated by school attainment, has been generally the sole criterion adopted in the selection of manual workers for technical training. Dr. Cox's results show the importance of tests of mechanical and manual ability not only in regard to innate manual skill, but also in regard to the later development of manual skill under training. He discovers, too, important differences between the effects of routine practice and those of systematic instruction.

Dr. Cox indicates in his preface the anthropological bearing of his inquiries. "Facility with the hand has always been an essential factor in human progress . . . The appearance in man of the higher mental powers which distinguish him from other animals has been largely determined by his ability to develop and to make effective use of the hand. In the early years of the individual, manual control serves as an index to mental growth, the hand constituting one of the chief sources of experience to this end."

Dr. Cox's elaborate and important researches have been conducted among adults and young persons belonging to a highly developed civilization. It would be of the greatest interest to ascertain what differences, if any, exist between the results he has thus obtained and those derived from the application of his methods to more primitive peoples.

C. S. M.

**Quid de L'Homme? Par Ernest Lenoir.**

**264** Ernest Leroux, 1934. 202 pp. Price 15 francs.

The greater part of this book (pp. 59-157) is a reprint with slight modifications and additions of an article entitled "L'Homme et le Gibbon" which appeared in the *Revue Anthropologique* in 1926. The conclusion reached in it, as the result of a somewhat unsystematic inquiry, is that the *Mauer mandible* resembles that of the gibbon more closely than it does those of the other anthropoids. A cursory comparison is then made between man and the anthropoids by



considering different parts of the body in turn. The introduction to the book is a contribution to the philosophy of physical anthropology, if there is such a subject. The concluding section deals with the relationship between Neanderthal and modern Man, and the theory is advanced that they are connected by direct descent, and that the slow transformation took place somewhere outside Europe.

G. M. M.

**Les Races Humaines.** By P. Lester and J. Millot. Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1936. 219 pp. 10.50 fr.

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This is an interesting and suggestive little book because it supplements the usual morphological review by a discussion of physiological considerations, bringing

in a balanced view of influences of heredity and environment. In the morphological section the discussion of ancient skeletons in their relation with modern types might have been made more adequate, but, apart from this, the review of the facts of the case is in good perspective. The study of growth in stature and of facts of metabolism, as well as of blood agglutination, is suggestively carried out. The discussion of physiological factors of cranial form is the one really weak feature, and, if the author means to imply that the dolichoid Eskimo have somehow descended from Mongoloid broadheads, he is surely very far out. This, however, is a minor point, and one welcomes insistence on our ignorance of the determining factors of many racial characters.

H. J. F.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**Nomenclature of Palaeolithic Finds.** (Cf. MAN, 1936, 139, 196.)

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SIR,—Mr. T. P. O'Brien's reply (MAN, 1936, 196) to Mr. Miles C. Burkitt's appeal (MAN, 1936, 139) provides much food for thought.

The free usage of established terms to describe particular industries or cultures has given rise to much confusion and misunderstanding throughout the Palaeolithic and Ethiopian Regions. Anxious always to follow the lead of Europe and to link up with it, South African prehistorians have been particularly embarrassed. Some ten years ago we broke away from the European terminology and invented one of our own (Goodwin: *A Commentary on the history and present position of South African Prehistory*, with full Bibliography. Bantu Studies, IX, 4, p. 334, 1935)—and much criticism, even scorn, has been poured upon us since. But I believe our course to have been wise and therefore I read Mr. Burkitt's final sentence with relief and satisfaction. Indeed, Mr. Burkitt, always a good friend to South Africa, was among our earliest supporters in this novel and provocative venture.

Nevertheless, I must support Mr. O'Brien in his plea for the general application of terms used to describe techniques—terms such as Abbevillian, Levalloisian, etc. While assemblages from far-distant sites may differ and the terms used to describe the industries of these sites may also differ, the terms used to describe the techniques should, if they be similar, be freely used even in continental extremes. An assemblage in East Anglia may reveal only technique 'X' while a similar assemblage in East Africa may reveal technique 'X' plus technique 'Y'. Because of the added 'Y' element in East Africa the industries may be grouped under different headings, but technique 'X' is certainly common to both and should be used to suggest a possible affinity.

For example, in the Stellenbosch Culture of South Africa, we recognize five well-stratified cultural horizons, the earliest of which compares very favourably with the earliest phase of the Chellean of Western Europe, but we do not feel justified in using the term 'Chellean' to describe the local assemblage or industry because (1) we have a greater variety of implements and (2) two intimately associated techniques—the Abbevillian and the Clacton, against the Abbevillian only in the Old Chellean of Europe. There can be no doubt whatever that the makers of the old Chellean-type tools in South Africa employed both Abbevillian and Clacton techniques. We have no parallel core-industries and flake-industries such as are believed to have existed in the Palaeolithic Age in Europe. Here the two are intimately associated in the same industry. Similarly, the makers of Stellenbosch II tools used the Abbevillian and Tachenghit techniques; the makers of Stellenbosch III

tools a technique which has been named Proto-Levallois I, and so on. We cannot honestly apply the nomenclature as it is applied in the Palearctic Region, but we can and do freely use your terms to describe techniques. It is technique that reveals affinities, not necessarily the form of the finished product.

Not one among us can yet say what the application of a technique, employed by workers in flint only, will give rise to, when it is applied with equal skill to a coarse-grained quartzite or comparatively intractable igneous rock—especially when the workers in the latter are found six thousand miles away from those in the former. To gauge affinities that may exist between finished products in different materials is frequently impossible. Typology fails us; we must turn to technique.

Prehistorians who are familiar only with an area where flint was exclusively used, cannot appreciate the problems that need to be faced by those of us who work in an area where a variety of materials was used. In the Old Chellean of the Thames and Somme basins, flint was almost exclusively used, and typology alone takes one a long way, perhaps the whole way, in making comparisons, but in South Africa we have no flint, and we find Old Chellean-type tools in an assemblage in which quartzite (both fine- and coarse-grained), various igneous rocks (granite, dolerite, diorite, andesite, etc.) and a perplexing variety of frequently very intractable metamorphic rocks were used; but we recognize the close affinity between the early Chellean and Stellenbosch industries in a technique that is common to both, viz., the Abbevillian.

We therefore need to re-orientate our viewpoint slightly and to use terms to describe techniques (and consequently affinities) generally, and terms to describe assemblages (industries or cultures) only as circumstances dictate.

In conclusion, I have just one thing to add: Speaking of Central Africa, Mr. O'Brien says 'the name Levalloisian may very well be used to imply some connection with the European *prototype*.' The italics are mine. At the present state of our knowledge, I would suggest that the name Levalloisian may very well be used (in Africa) to imply some connection with the European *parallel*. Is it not possible that the Levallois of Africa is the prototype of the European? From both Southern Africa and Southern India we have an abundance of Acheul-type hand-axes and cleavers made from flakes struck from Levallois-like cores. In South Africa, these are found deeply stratified below advanced Acheul- and Micoque-type hand-axes that in turn are intimately associated with an Old Levallois technique, over which we find typical middle (and then later) Levallois cores and flakes. These deeply embedded Levallois-like cores have been named Proto-Levallois,



We recognize three (stratified) stages of development: Victoria West or Proto-Levallois I, II and III—from which the classic Old Levallois, and then the Middle and the Later, naturally follow. This great sequence has no parallel in the Palearctic Region and, at the present state of our knowledge, it would seem that the Levallois originated either in Africa or in Asia—or both? I suspect Africa, and only hope that Mr. O'Brien's search will take us a stage further. Situated almost half-way between the two great cul-de-sacs (Western Europe and South Africa) he is in an immensely favourable position. May his efforts be crowned with success! And then to the gap between us and the cul-de-sac that is Southern India!

C. VAN RIET LOWE,  
Union of South Africa Bureau of  
Archæology, Johannesburg.

#### Myth and Ritual. (Cf. MAN, 1936, 230.)

**267** SIR.—Mr. Hocart reiterates his theory that all myth is, not ætiological in the sense of an explanation of existing ritual, but a description of that ritual itself, and challenges me to 'produce a *märchen* or *saga* that cannot be explained on these lines.' To do this will not qualify me or anyone else for the post of the Einstein of mythology, for I need but refer to three books, well known to Mr. Hocart, to find examples in abundance.

The first is Homer's *Iliad*. Here we have a long story, brilliantly told, of events alleged to have taken place during the War of Troy. In my opinion, and that of most students of the subject, the war was real; but this matters little for my present purpose, for it is admitted on all sides that the Greeks supposed it was real, and that is enough. On the basis of this supposition, the poet gives his imaginative account of how two of the leading Greeks quarrelled, and of what befell as a result. The leading actors are human, gods appearing only in episodes more or less closely related to the main theme and as part of the machinery; Homer could, if he had chosen, have provided Achilles with the means for revenge without the intervention of Thetis and Zeus. The basis of the story, subtracting Homer's poetic genius in the telling of it, is *saga*, that is to say, the popular memory of what had happened in the past. There is no known ritual which has any connexion with it at all, save for the honours paid to certain heroes alleged to have been at Troy, and no faintest indication that Homer and the earlier poets had any connexion with this ritual, which indeed apparently did not exist in that age.

The second work is the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Here, in Book I, lines 163 *seq.*, is the tale of how the sky-god, offended with the wickedness of men, drowned them all by a great flood, excepting two righteous persons, Deukalion and his wife. This is certainly a myth, the chief actors being gods and the theme an act of divine vengeance; it is one of the widespread flood-myths whereof Sir James Frazer has collected a vast number. And it is ætiological, for in Greece there is no trace of flood-ritual, of any performance of priests or laity dealing with the causing or staying of an inundation; nothing that the characters in the story do or say, either in Ovid's sophisticated version or in any other, has a ceremonial counterpart. Greeks did not, in reality or pretence, kill children and cook their flesh, as Lykaon did, to make it rain heavily, nor did they, like Deukalion and Pyrrha, throw stones over their shoulders in hopes that they would turn into men and women. As a scientist, and therefore no lover of gratuitous hypotheses, I find no explanation save the commonsense one, that the story, in Greece, started from the curiosity excited by certain features of the landscape which suggested,

rightly or wrongly, the action of water. That no flood-myth anywhere has anything to do with ritual is a proposition I am not concerned to defend; the Greek one, so far as our evidence goes, has nothing whatever.

If Mr. Hocart wants an example of a ritual myth, he can find it without leaving Ovid, for the same poem, v. 341 *seq.*, tells the tale of Demeter the corn-goddess and her daughter, which is certainly the reflection in words (again with the addition of some Alexandrian cleverness) of the solemn ceremonies at Eleusis whereby the succession of harvests was assured. This is a definite class of myth, distinct from those which, like the tale of Zeus and Lykaon, have no ritual counterparts.

The third work to which I would refer Mr. Hocart is the brothers Grimm's *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Examples are abundant; No. 13 will do as well as another. Here we have a series of incidents, all of well-known types which reappear in story after story, concerning a wicked stepmother, a courteous and a discourteous child, helpful spirits, a royal marriage, a death and a reincarnation. I should be much interested to learn from Mr. Hocart, or anyone else, of any kind of ritual, German or other, with which all this has the faintest connexion, and, until I do, I shall continue to think it a tale invented simply to please and interest, a precursor of the novels and short stories of our own day.

Mr. Hocart contrasts the methods of science and scholarship, that is to say, of science and science. It would be as relevant to find fault with a craniologist because he does not put skulls into a test-tube to measure them, or with a chemist because his stock of reagents does not include a pair of callipers. A scholar, philologist or historian, is a scientist if he is anything, and uses the scientific method of collecting facts, deducing hypotheses from them, and testing them by comparison with more facts. It would greatly lighten his task if men behaved as uniformly as inanimate matter. The physicist does not need to re-examine the laws of gravitation whenever his pencil slips from his hands and drops to the floor; but if he found that some pencils had a tendency to fly about him in a series of spirals and end by hitting the ceiling, he certainly would feel it necessary to test each one of a large number of pencils individually on its merits. Human beings are as variable as these imaginary pencils; until they cease to be so, the lawyer-like procedure of examining case after case in the light of such general principles as can be found is the only one available.

H. J. ROSE.

#### Fish Traps in Zanzibar, Pemba, Mauritius, and South Arabia. (Cf. MAN, 1924, 99.)

**268** SIR.—In MAN, 1924, 99, I referred to the use of certain fish traps in Zanzibar and Pemba, which Mr. Hornell had reported in Brazil and South India. Since then I have found similar fish traps, double and single way, in Mauritius, whither they may have been taken by East African slaves since the eighteenth century, and large single-way traps in Soqatra.

In the last paragraph of that article I referred to the *myono* trap of Pemba, which I thought might be the trap referred to in the *Periplus*. I never saw this trap again until on my recent journey down the Wadi Hadhrumaut to the sea, I found it with the Mahra people and used by them in the river. The trap is illustrated at p. 300 of my 'Zanzibar: Its History and Its People.'

W. H. INGRAMS.

#### Correction. (MAN, 1936, 249.)

**269** Variolation in Africa. Mr. Walter Cline's address should be c/o American Express Company, Berlin.

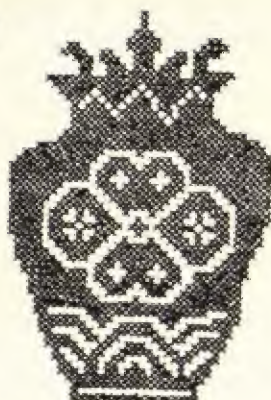




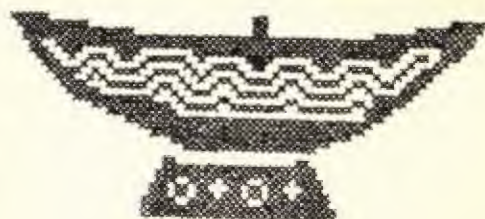




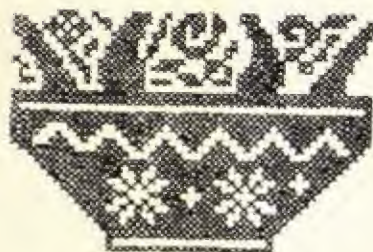
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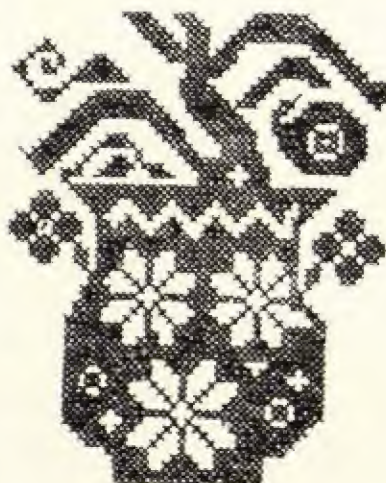
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11.

# A PREHISTORIC SYMBOL IN CHINESE FOLK ART

1-8. DESIGNS FOR CHINESE EMBROIDERIES.

10. CHINESE EMBROIDERY DESIGN.

9. MODERN RICKSHAW SEAT-COVER, CH'UNGKING.

11. ZIGZAG ORNAMENT ON EUROPEAN NEOLITHIC POTTERY: HELENENDORF.



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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XXXVI, 270-292

DECEMBER, 1936

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

China.

With Plate O.

Schuster.

A PREHISTORIC SYMBOL IN MODERN CHINESE FOLK ART. *By Carl Schuster, Peiping, China.*

**270** The M- and W-marks which occur so frequently on archaic Greek pottery and in predynastic Egyptian art have been interpreted by Herbert Kühn (in the appendix to Carl Hentze 'Mythes et Symboles lunaires,' Antwerp, 1932, pp. 245 ff.) as signs for water and, by extension, for fertility. Kühn attaches this interpretation also to the zigzag ('Winkelband') which occurs conspicuously on the neolithic banded pottery of Central Europe (Walternienburg-Bernburger-Kultur, Rössener Typus (Plate O, 11): the same zigzag ornament seems to have been taken over by artisans of the bronze age and the Halsatt period). Kühn observes: "That these markings occur on vessels certainly cannot be due to chance, since vessels were made for the express purpose of containing fluids—water or milk—and it would be natural for people to have decorated them with the spell for 'water,' in the desire to have them always full." In Greek and Egyptian representative art it is the motives with which the M- and W-marks are associated that give the clue to their meanings in the case of vessels decorated with nothing but this geometric device, according to Kühn, it is the vessel itself which supplies the significant context.

Though many in our rationalistic and unimaginative society are apt to discredit the symbolic interpretation of motives in primitive applied design, it seems that we may be in danger of scientific error by failing to make due allowance for the strong, yet often elusive, tendency of less highly civilized peoples to express themselves in terms of symbols. That Kühn is essentially right in his interpretation of the zigzag or wavy line so widespread in prehistoric and protohistoric pottery design seems to me curiously confirmed by the occurrence of an exactly similar decorative device in the modern folk designs of western China. One of the favourite and most frequent motives of this western Chinese design repertory is that of a vessel (bowl, pot, or vase) with a plant growing in it; the shapes of the vessels and the species of the plants are of course various, but mythologically all the plants may be reasonably regarded as variants of that widespread type, the 'Tree of Life.' One may also suppose that the vessels from which these plants are represented as growing are conceived as containers of the fluid element essential for their growth.

A glance at a group of such vessels, Plate O, 1-8, selected from western Chinese folk-embroideries, will suffice to show the persistence of the zigzag decoration upon them. Of course there are examples of vessel designs in this folk art which do not show the zigzag, but it is far more significant that there are so many which do, and, furthermore, that the zigzag as a decorative motive is hardly found applied to other uses in this class of work.

The zigzag as a mark on vessels from which plants grow occurs not only in these embroideries, but appears, from other forms of art-expression in this region, to be well-established in the popular artistic consciousness of the western provinces. Thus, for example, a zigzag marking, in several



parallel lines, occurs on the vessel represented in the stone carving on a wayside shrine, Fig. 12. Another application of this symbolic device which shows what a commonplace it has become in the



FIG. 12. ZIGZAG ORNAMENT ON CARVED REPRESENTATION OF A FLOWER-VASE.

far west of China is its application in blue tape to the seat covers of hundreds of rickshaws in the Szech'uan city of Ch'ungking. Thus in Plate O, 9, we see the folk motive of the vessel with the tree of life reduced to a sort of shorthand or pictogram; the plant is suggested by four curving blades, and the vessel by a simple trapezoid. In spite of these drastic simplifications, it is significant that the zigzag motive is, on these seat covers, invariably retained as an essential feature of the design; indeed it seems to have become an earmark by which the vessel is identified as such.

As for the embroidery designs, Plate O, 1-8: the vase, Fig. 1, betrays 'urban' influence in its elegant shape. It represents a tendency of this folk art, in rare cases, to borrow motives from that type of decorative design which may be regarded as the product of a specially trained professional class of artisans, as opposed to the

untutored handiwork of the women. In keeping with the urban or professional character of the vase of Fig. 1, the embroiderer has decorated the bottom of the vessel with a sort of scale pattern, which is a stereotype in Chinese professional design for 'water.' On the other hand, on the neck of the same vase the embroiderer has applied the more popular and strongly geometric symbol of the zigzag. By such juxtaposition it seems that the designer expresses as clearly as possible in terms of design her conception of the significance of the zigzag line as a water symbol: we have, so to speak, a brief text in two languages, that of the upper classes and that of the people.

Again in Figs. 2 and 3, taken from two adjoining and in every respect similar medallions from the same piece of embroidery, we have on the crescentic vessel in one case the zigzag, in the other a more naturalistic rendering of fluid ripples, in so far as this is possible in the technique of cross-stitch. Here, again, the two designs are apparently regarded as equivalent, and we can infer from the known (or relatively decipherable) value of the more naturalistic motive the proper reading of the less naturalistic one, the zigzag.

Plate O, 10 is perhaps of special interest because of the distinctly crescentic shape of the rim of the vessel to which the zigzag is applied. Kühn in the above mentioned passage stresses the popular association, moon-water.

As for the possibility of getting an expression of opinion on the significance of the zigzag line from the people who made the embroideries, it is unfortunately out of the question, for those people have been gone for a least two generations, and the explanations which one gets nowadays can hardly be described as enlightening, except in so far as they reveal the appalling speed and thoroughness of the psychological revolution caused by the penetration of foreign and 'modern' materials and ideas into remote corners of the interior. It would seem only reasonable to expect, however, that the people who 60 or 80 years ago embroidered these designs must have had a pretty clear idea of their intention when they applied the zigzag design (or, rather, in most cases, voided it) on their embroidered representations of pots and vases.

Implied in this comparison of a modern folk design with early archaeological remains is the fundamental question: unbroken transmission



or independent invention? On the one hand it might seem that so simple a device as the representation of water by a wavy or zigzag line and its application to vessels could be independently 'invented' very easily, and it is notoriously difficult to prove either the proposition or its contrary. I personally should be strongly inclined, however, on principle, to believe in the greater probability of an unbroken cultural transmission as the explanation of this modern Chinese design, though I must leave it to others to judge

of the historical possibilities implied in the case.

*Note 1.*—The writer is at present engaged in collecting examples of folk design in western China in the form chiefly of cross-stitch embroidery. These designs often show a marked divergence from the rest of Chinese art and evidence of early foreign influence. During 1936 or 1937, essays discussing various features of these embroideries are to appear in *Asia, Monumenta Serica*, Strzygowski's *Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens in der bildenden Kunst*, and elsewhere. A comparative discussion of our motive was published in *Embroidery*, September, 1935.

Earthy.

**THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF A GBANDE TOWN, LIBERIA.** By E. Dora Earthy; Abstract of a paper read at the British Association, Blackpool Meeting, 1936.

**271** The Gbande tribe of Liberia occupies the area falling approximately within the parallels of 8° and 8½° North Latitude, and the meridians of 10° and 10½° West Longitude. The neighbouring tribes are the Kisi to the North, the Mende and Mandingo to the West, the Buzi or Toma to the East, and the Gola to the South.

The Gbande are governed by a paramount chief, whose kingdom is divided into sections under the rule of clan chiefs, each with a number of sub-clan and town chiefs under him.

The land is fertile. Cotton, rice, and palm-oil are produced in abundance. Iron for currency bars, which are known popularly in Sierra Leone as 'Kisi pennies,' is said to be procured from French Guinea.

The religion of the Gbande is a mixture of paganism, totemism, and a very superstitious form of Mohammedanism. There are a few Christians.

*Marriage.*—Bride-wealth (*nyahai ganga koli*) is paid in iron-bar currency in instalments, which sometimes take a life-time to complete. A concrete evidence in currency of the bridegroom's good intentions enables the bride to live at her husband's home. If nothing is paid for the woman, the man must settle in his wife's village and work for her parents or near relatives. The symbol of the former kind of marriage is one currency bar, which is placed on the bride's head by the bridegroom during the marriage rite, with the words:—"This is my wife," when he has just handed over the first instalment of bride-wealth he has brought with him to the bride's father.

A younger brother usually inherits the chief's wives except two or three which the dying chief

may bequeath to this brother's son, if he has one.

*Death and Burial.*—People are buried in the Gitiwaiah or centre of the town in which they live, and large stones and sacrificial offerings are placed on the graves. A chief has an open hut erected over his grave. Nothing that is placed in this hut is ever stolen. A chieftainess will be buried in a clay extension of the wall of an important descendant's hut. Young children are buried in the bush near the town.

*Relationships.*—The chief terms of relationship among the Gbande are *kege* (father); *nde* (mother); *kawaa* (grandfather); *mamaa* (grand-mother); *kege pombo* (brother); *nuko* (brother-in-law); *mwului* (son); *mamalui* (daughter); *nyahai* (wife); *ngihiyenge* (husband); *ndege* (mother's sister); *ndia* (father's sister's son, if older than the person speaking); *niabe* (father's sister's son if younger than speaker); *tinna* (father's sister's daughter). These terms are extended to include distant relationships.

In order to avoid being personal I have given Old Testament names to the inhabitants of the town which I am about to describe, and which I call Nimrodlahun, the home of Nimrod the Hunter. The python is the chief totem of this town, and associated totems are kola nuts and small freshwater fishes resembling shrimps. I was told that "the whole body will be sick if the people eat their totems."

The sacred 'lightning' medicine is found in this town, as most probably in all the others. The doctrine and discipline relating to lightning, according to Frobenius, is West Asiatic in origin, surviving especially in the Atlantic culture of



West Africa. The characteristics of this Atlantic culture are the numbers 4 (male) and 3 (female); the wearing of the toga, and the weaving of plush. All these characteristics are found in the Gbande culture. The language also belongs to the West Atlantic group.

It was wartime when Nimrod the Hunter settled on his hill-top. He had three wives, but

called *Nahum wubi*, Nahum being the second son of Esau, his eldest son having died without descendants. This section contains the descendants of Esau by Adah, and those of his third and fourth wives. When Nahum died his brother's son Noah became the head of this section. Nahum's wife Keturah, who is still alive, is the mistress of the girls' initiation ceremonies.

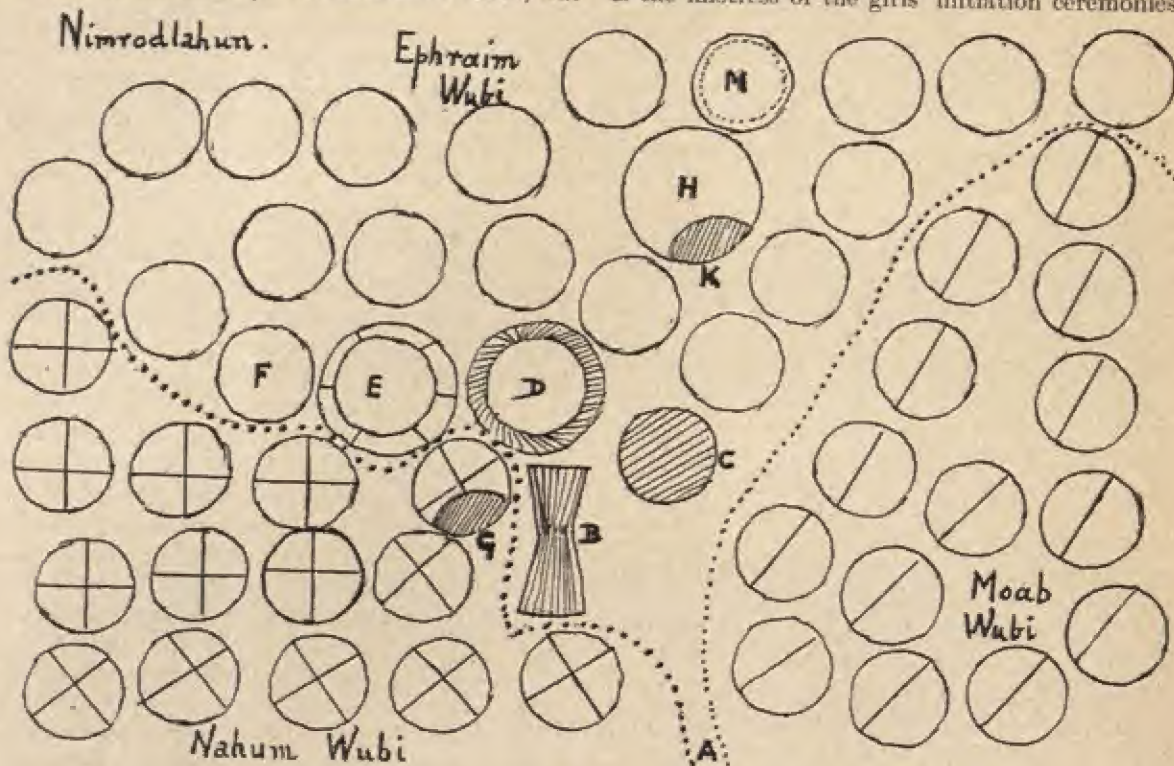


FIG. 1. KEY TO PLAN OF TOWN.

A. Hillside path. B. Lightning-medicine enclosure. C. 'Government' hut. D. Nimrod's grave. E. Palaver hut. F. Hut of freed slave and family. G. Walled-in grave of Adah, Esau's wife. H. Rachel's hut. K. Walled-in grave of Rebecca, Jacob's chief wife. M. The chief's hut. This village (called *tau*, town), represents five generations, and was founded by Nimrod the Hunter.

his chief wife was Rebecca. A chief could not marry his principal wife until after the death of his mother; but he might have other wives taken either before or after the chief wife. Esau, the son of Nimrod's first wife, did not inherit the chieftainship. Jacob, the son of Rebecca, was of a more suitable character to be chief than Esau, who was of a warlike and roving disposition, while Jacob was of a stable character and a good organizer. By his third wife, Nimrod had a daughter named Salome.

Esau became the ancestor and head of one of the three sections into which the town is divided,

Noah has three huts in this section. In the wall of one large hut inhabited by his mother and wives, can be seen the grave of Adah, Esau's principal wife.

Nimrod's second but chief wife, Rebecca, is considered the important ancestress of the town. Her son Jacob married as his chief wife Rachel, and their grandson Ephraim is the present chief. Rachel is very old, but was still alive a few weeks ago. I was told that she would have been chieftainess after her husband's death, only it was advisable to have a man at the head of affairs, to carry on business with the Americo-



Liberian Government. She is now the keeper and head of the chief's harem, and outside her hut there is a clay projection of the wall in which the body of the great Rebecca, the chief wife of Nimrod, is walled up.

When Jacob succeeded Nimrod, he began to strengthen his position by alliances. He therefore gave his half-sister Salome, the daughter of Nimrod by his third wife, to an important man named Jasiel, a son of the paramount chief at that time. Jasiel settled at his wife's home, and became the founder of the third section of the town called *Moab wubi*, after Moab, the son of Jasiel by his third wife.

The dwellers in this section are not directly related to the chief, but are connexions by marriage in a more or less distant degree. But because Jasiel belonged to the same clan as Jacob the clan totems were the same for both. Hence we find people of the same totems inter-marrying.

The most important *wubi* of the town is the chief's section, or Ephraim *wubi*. He is the great-grandson of Nimrod, and grandson of Rachel and Jacob, who had one son only, Joseph, the father of Ephraim. Joseph married a woman named Asenath, Ephraim's mother, who was inherited after Joseph's death by his half-brother Dan. Dan is therefore both uncle and step-father to Ephraim. Thus if we examine the chief's *wubi* with regard to its inhabitants we find that he himself lives in it, with his wives, his children, his mother and her second husband, his grandmother, and two young bachelors from other districts, who have settled in the town evidently with intention to find their wives there. A weaver who has already taken a wife from the town and works for her father instead of paying the bride-price, has built his hut in this *wubi* also. One of Jacob's other wives with her daughter have one hut, while her son, who is unmarried, has another. The descendants of another stranger who came to live there, together with their wives and children; a cross-second-cousin of the chief's and her descendants; the family retainers; a half-brother of the chief; a

brother-in-law and other people directly connected with the chief by ties of marriage or kinships, also inhabit this section.

In looking at the plan, Nimrod's grave is seen in the Gitiwaiah. It is protected by a roof and a parapet. Just below it is a new hut called the Government House. This is really a guest house for the use of any visitor to the town, such as the District Commissioner, a missionary, or the chief of another town.

The enclosure for the sacred 'lightning' medicine is made of poles, which have budded and become young trees. The nature of the medicine is not revealed. It is kept in an earthen pot covered with another pot. The enclosure must not be touched or interfered with in any way.

The village club room, which is called the Palaver House, is situated next to Nimrod's grave. It is always open to visitors and strangers. Carriers rest there en route to another village—women gossip and work, and children play there.

To the left of the Palaver House is the hut of the old family retainers. These were once slaves, but after the liberation of the slaves they preferred to remain where they were as they had been in the community a long time, and knew no other home.

An analysis of the intermarriages in this town give the following results:—

Some of the old men have inherited very young wives.

The chief inherited his step-mother on his father's death. This woman was at the same time his sister-in-law, as father and son married two sisters.

Brothers have inherited their deceased brother's wives and families.

Members of the same clan totem have inter-married.

There appears to have been no marriage between direct cross-cousins or parallel cousins; but a great many between people who stood in the relationship to each other of 'a connection by marriage.'

#### America: North.

**FRIENDSHIP IN NORTH AMERICA.**

By David G. Mandelbaum. *Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.*

Mandelbaum.

**272** A recent note in *Africa* calls attention to the fact that institutionalized friendship of the type described for Dahomey is to be found

elsewhere in West Africa.<sup>1</sup> In North America

<sup>1</sup>S. F. Nadel, *Africa*, IX, 1, pp. 121-122; M. J. Herskovits, in *The Negro, an Anthology*, ed., N. Cunard, pp. 627-632.



also, such friendships are more common than has heretofore been noted. The Plains Cree, a tribe living in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan, afford a case example of this relationship in North America.<sup>2</sup>

The Plains Cree instance reveals none of the profusion of ceremonial detail that occurs in West Africa. There is no ritual formally sealing the friendship tie, nor is there ever any ceremonial affirmation of the relationship. Nonetheless it is a well known and clearly defined pattern.

Friendship attachments were usually formed during the summer Sun Dance period when the various bands gathered in a single encampment. Two boys might become fast friends and, when the time came to break camp, one would leave his family group and go off with the band of his friend. Thenceforth the two would call each other *nivitcewahakun*, 'he with whom I go about.' They would address each other's parents as father and mother and would observe the brother-sister avoidance toward the sisters of their friend. Should one die during childhood, the other was sent to live with the deceased's family for a time and from then on, both households were equally his own. The two shared the hazards of the war path together. When they married their wives called each other by the sister terms as do the wives of brothers. They addressed each other's wife as sister-in-law. In all respects, except for the term used, their relationship was a brotherly one. When two women compacted a friendship the terms for elder and younger sister were employed.

A variant of this friendship alliance occurred

<sup>2</sup> References to various types of friendship alliance in North America are to be found in the following citations: E. C. Parsons, 'Ceremonial Friendship at 'Zuni': *Am. Anthropologist*, XIX, pp. 1-8; R. H. Lowie, *Hidatsa and Mandan Societies*: Anthr. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. XI, pp. 229-231; P. Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe*: Bur. Am. Ethn. 37th Report, pp. 201-202; P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, Vol. II, p. 83, ed., L. P. Kellogg, Chicago, 1923; W. L. Stone, *The Life of Joseph Brant*, Vol. I, p. 28, New York, 1838; R. H. Lowie, *Social Life of the Crow Indians*: Anthr. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., IX, 2, 1912; A. Skinner, *Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menomini Indians*: Anthr. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XIII, part I, 1931; J. G. Kohl, *Kitchi Gami. Wanderings Round Lake Superior*, London, 1860; G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, 122, 150, New Haven, 1925; A. C. Fletcher and F. LaFlesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, 318, Bur. Am. Ethn. 27th Report.

when a boy attached himself to a young man, usually to one who had won some prestige as a warrior. The boy would follow his friend about in camp and during the hunt, assist wherever possible, and, in turn, be cared for and taught the manly arts. In this case, the taking on of a kinship relationship with the family of one's friend did not follow, although the term used by the two for each other was the same as that previously noted, 'he with whom I go about.'

This type of friendship closely resembles the 'best friend' relationship noted by Mr. J. H. Driberg (Man, 1935, 110) among the Didinga. The Plains Cree, however, do not have a series of age-sets.

Finally there was yet another type of institutionalized friendship quite distinct from those described above. A rising young warrior might desire the wife of an older man. When the woman's husband came to know of it, he would consider the record of the young man, and if it were favourable, would consent to share his wife with him. Should the younger man be already married, they would temporarily exchange wives. From then on they would call each other by a special term and would indulge in a continuous interchange of gifts. Each would attempt to outdo the other in the lavishness of his presents. They stood by one another through the utmost dangers of battle and hunted together. Despite the great sacrifices they made for one another, the relationship was tinged with a spirit of rivalry not to be found in the other friendships. The joking relationship and the kinship terminology that obtained between brothers-in-law was not followed in this alliance and so it can hardly be equated to a brother-in-law connexion.

The article of A. M. Hocart on blood-brotherhood (Man, 1935, 127), points out some interesting implications of friendship covenants among the Azande and Pawnee. The Plains Cree data, however, do not seem to fit in with the concept developed by Professor Hocart. Here we have three differing types of 'mutual ministry,' none of which brings about a moiety-like situation. The first is a true brotherhood tie. The second is similar, lacking only the kinship extensions. The third might be conceived of as a cross-cousinly relationship were it not for the fact that it does not involve the terminological affiliations and joking relationship which obtain between cross cousins.



West Africa.

Addison.

THE WUNDE SOCIETY: PROTECTORATE OF SIERRA LEONE, BRITISH WEST AFRICA. *By*  
W. Addison.

**273** The civilization of the white man is slowly but inevitably encroaching upon the shores of African negro traditions and customs, many of which are doomed to be forgotten failing an attempt at record. Accuracy, in this respect must, to some extent, depend upon the reliability of oral transmission through succeeding generations of people unable to read or write.

This *junto* was one of several secret societies functioning in various parts of the Protectorate several years ago.

Here are two versions of its origin and activities as told to me, on the spot, by autochthons.

#### THE WUNDE FROM MONGERI.

The Wunde was introduced to the Gpa Mende country of the Protectorate from the town of Mongeri, 'somewhere in the interior.' A special fetish was its particular guardian helping its members to be successful in war, politics, and finance. Old and young, all males, were compelled to join. Women were not admitted because of the inability of the sex to keep a secret. All members were trained to be expert liars in politics, competent in war, cunning in finance, ruthless and utterly unscrupulous. All 'marked' men, or women, were murdered. The property of a member dying without sons was seized by the senior officials of the *junto* for their own use. In order to succeed to their father's property any sons were compelled to join the ranks of the fraternity. No woman could inherit the property of a Wunde man. It would seem, therefore, that according to this version the organization was quasi-political, quasi-military, quasi-financial, and anti-social in its functions.

The above is in my own words. The remaining version is told mainly in the simple words of the narrator, as it may so convey a better picture to the mind of the reader.

#### THE KONNO WUNDE.

"The system known as 'Wunde' was brought into the Gpa Mende country by a man named Yaindema of Konno. Masandi was his wife. Both were very poor and lived in the temporary shelter erected on whatever piece of land they farmed. They wandered about, year by year, from place to place. One night, Masandi had a dream. She dreamt that she was told to rise

up very early in the morning and to go to a certain cave where she would find something useful and helpful to her and to her husband on their journey through this troublesome life. She did as she was told and went to the cave. Over the entrance to the cave hung a huge honeycomb inhabited by a multitude of bees. She tried to enter but the bees attacked and drove her away. She then returned to her shelter and told Yaindema of her dream and of what had happened to her. He accompanied Masandi to the cave and was met by the very bees which had stung her. They drove him back. At the second attempt he ran with speed to the entrance of the cave and managed to get in, few of the bees stinging him. During this, Masandi turned her back on the scene so that she should not see how badly the bees were treating her husband who was doing what he did for her sake. Inside the cave, Yaindema met a devil sitting down and dressed in a fearful manner; anybody seeing him would be filled with great awe. The devil had two short sticks at hand, a white stone, and a rope. The two short sticks were a Wunde chair which, when fixed in a certain way, he used as a seat. Fanjawa was the name of the devil. That is the end of Yaindema's part in the history of the Wunde; the rest is lost in the hidden past.

"The devil, Fanjawa, however, is continued in the Wunde Bush, but not as a devil. As we have no cave, this sacred bush represents the cave. The entrance through which we came is the mouth of the cave, the six men armed with switches standing by the entrance represent the bees, and as each member comes in he is soundly switched, but not too hard.

"We cannot get Fanjawa the devil to be here to-day, but we dress up a man to look like him, an awful figure, but very funny. Neither are we able to obtain the dry bread Fanjawa had when he made people swear to do his will, but we use a stone on which flour is placed and those who swear to be good Wundes have to lick it up. If they break their oath, when they go out a snake will bite their foot, and they will die; or the lightning will strike them down, or their belly will swell up and burst, or if they



" are in a canoe it will upset and they will drown.  
 " These two short sticks beside the stone represent the chair Fanjawa sat on.  
 " In the old days the Wunde Society was one of



FIG. 1. MEMBERS OF THE WUNDE SOCIETY.

" force. You had to join whether you wanted to or not if you happened to be near during a session, but to-day people have to reverse things to a better form from the olden people.

" Boys are not flogged as formerly to make them obedient and humble to their parents and their elders, even a raw boy can see that it is all fun, but if he is a disobedient boy, he has to answer questions and compelled to make a promise to try and be a better boy at home and to his betters and to his fellow creatures.

" The Society is divided up into several grades :

" *Fambu* or *Ngombublesia* : the fire men with long sticks.

" *Kamakwesia* : they dress themselves like women and wear a large bunch of feathers as a head-dress. They sing, dance, and make peace.

" *Kabong* or *Kuriblesia* : these hold a short forked stick.

" *Lahwa* : each holds a long staff and they lead the dancing.

" Then there is the senior *Lahwa* and the senior *Fambu*. The *Lahwas* control the Society, make the laws for it, and have power over every part of it. Every junior member has to give a *Lahwa* a full salute whenever they meet. The word of a *Lahwa* to a grey-headed man is heavier than a bed. As each member enters or leaves the sacred bush he has to give

" the password which is that of the grade to which he belongs.

" The initiation fee is 3/-. If a member wishes to rise in the Society he has to pay higher fees. This money the senior members use for their own purposes. It is truly a money-making Society, but so have the white men money-making societies and we do not interfere with them in making money.

" Now we come to the assemblage or dancing ground. The Society assembles only on special occasions. For instance, the death of a Chief, some new law the Government has passed, and so on. Dancing begins in the town so as to get a goodly gathering from all round before we have the big dance in this sacred bush. Men and boys will be arriving to join; this helps to find money for the seniors. The dancers will be composed of both men and women, boys and girls, but there must be no bad behaviour. They dance all night until the sun begins to rise when the women will leave first with the girls; an hour after, the men and boys leave for home. You will find nothing malignant at all in our movements. All will be as one.

" This small barri or shelter represents the form of farm house in which Masandi and her husband lived when they were alive. It is called the *Kula Boléi*. Here the initiation takes place. After the initiation all the members disguise themselves so that one could



FIG. 2. MEMBERS OF THE WUNDE SOCIETY.

" hardly know his own person, each person providing his own dress. You will observe one of the *Lahwa* with a fan in his hand come to



" the barri; he will touch the face of one with  
 " his fan who will follow him, the others following  
 " with their heads bent to the ground. All this  
 " time the drums will be beating, and the fire  
 " men will be waiting as dogs wait for their  
 " masters. As the women enter the sacred bush  
 " they will find a Wunde at the entrance. Each  
 " will be given a cup of water to drink which is  
 " to represent her milk as a mother.

" Then comes the great event of the night.  
 " In the centre of the dancing ground we make  
 " a great fire. Without fire life would cease to  
 " exist. Around this form the *Ngombublesia* in  
 " a circle to guard it from attack; another circle  
 " forms round them and they are the *Lablesia*;  
 " another circle around these two circles is made  
 " up of the *Kuriblesia*, the men and boys who  
 " have just joined the Society, or who are the  
 " youngest members. The circles move round  
 " while the drums beat and the women sing.  
 " Presently they all begin to dance as they move  
 " round the fire each circle keeping to its circle.  
 " Then, suddenly, the *Kuriblesia* will try to  
 " push the *Ngombublesia* into the fire with their  
 " short forked sticks, but the *Lablesia* will try  
 " to stop them, and the *Ngombublesia* with their  
 " longer rods will strike at the attackers to beat  
 " them off. There is great excitement, singing,  
 " dancing, drums beating, the fire roaring, the  
 " moon shining, the circles shouting and strug-  
 " gling; a very fine sight to see. The *Kamakwesia*

" then join the revolving circles and make peace  
 " between the defenders of the fire of life and  
 " those who wish to destroy it and them. No-  
 " body is hurt. All the pushing and striking is  
 " in fun.

" Peace taking the place of the tumult around  
 " the fire of life, men and women, boys and girls,  
 " then mingle in one great throng and dance  
 " and sing until the sun begins to rise, and then  
 " the dance ends. The fees taken from those  
 " who have been initiated, and those who have  
 " desired to rise in grade are then divided  
 " between the senior members of the Society,  
 " and everybody returns home to await the next  
 " summons for the Wunde men and boys to  
 " meet.

" It is true that people do get into trouble  
 " with the Wunde when it is in session, but that  
 " is because they do not belong to us and want  
 " to see something which does not concern them.  
 " We do not spy on other people and we try to  
 " prevent them spying on us. If they do not  
 " wish to meet trouble they should keep away  
 " and mind their own business.

" The Wunde festivities are for our enjoyment  
 " and for the making of profit, just as the white  
 " man has his festivities and dances and makes  
 " his profit. It is the envious ones of our own  
 " people, members of other secret societies who  
 " want an end put to the meeting of the  
 " Wunde."

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

**Recent discoveries of Skulls and Pleistocene Stone Implements in Java.** Abstract of a communication by Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, 13th October, 1936.

Dr. G. R. H. von Koenigswald succeeded in dividing the fossil animals from the Pleistocene in Java, which were considered to form one group, into three groups, belonging to the late Tertiary—oldest Pleistocene, middle Pleistocene and youngest Pleistocene.

*Pithecanthropus* belongs in this scheme, according to the fauna found at Trinil, to the middle Pleistocene and *Homo Soloensis* to the youngest Pleistocene.

In February 1936, near Modjokerto, a fossil skull was found of a child between 1 and 3 years old. Several details of this skull prove that it was not a young ape, but belongs decidedly somewhere in the line of human development. Other details are so primitive that it was certainly not a child of *Homo sapiens*. It may have been an infant of *Pithecanthropus* or of any other known or unknown

species of primitive *Homo*. This skull was found with fossil fauna, proving that it belongs to the latest Tertiary—oldest Pleistocene.

The discovery of something so much older than Middle Pleistocene *Pithecanthropus* makes it necessary to take up again the whole *Pithecanthropus* problem. No animals of the oldest Pleistocene fauna exist in the Middle Pleistocene period, which makes it not very probable that only the hominoid should have remained. A far smaller difference exists between the fauna of Middle and Latest Pleistocene, which have most of the animals in common. This makes it probable that *Homo Soloensis*, whom we know till now only from one site in Latest Pleistocene time existed already in Java during the Middle Pleistocene.

The reports of the researches of Prof. Dubois in Java exist still in the archives of the Geological Service in the Netherland Indies. These reports show that Dubois was present when the femur was found at Trinil and the Middle Pleistocene date proved by the fossil remains in the layers which



Latest Pliocene/Old Pleistocene.	Middle Pleistocene.	Late Pleistocene.
<i>Stegodon cf. precursor</i> (between Tertiary precursor and Middle Pleistocene <i>trigonocephalus</i> ).	<i>Stegodon trigonocephalus</i> .	<i>Stegodon trigonocephalus</i> .
<i>Hippopotamus antiquus</i> .	<i>Hippopotamus namadicus</i> .	<i>Hippopotamus namadicus</i> .
<i>Leptobos</i> .	<i>Bos (bubalus) bubalis palæo-karabau</i> .	<i>Bos (Bubalus) bubalis palæo-karabau</i> .
<i>Cervus problematicus</i> .	<i>Axis axis hydekkeri</i> (extremely abundant).	<i>Axis axis hydekkeri</i> (very rare).
<i>Epimachairodus</i> .		<i>Axis axis javanicus</i> (abundant).
At least 3 <i>Antelopes</i> (perhaps more).	<i>Duboisia</i> (Antelope).	
Marine molluscs (30 per cent. extinct).		<i>Sus terhaari</i> .
Infant skull.	<i>Pithecanthropus</i> (femur).	<i>Homo soloensis</i> .

contained the femur, has to be accepted. On the other side Dubois was absent when the skull was encountered, a sergeant-major and a sergeant of engineers of the Netherland Indies Army being at that time in charge of the excavations. Their reports have disappeared from the file; but even if they should be rediscovered no scientific value, geological or paleontological, could be attached to them. The possibility exists that the skullcap does not come from the same stratum as the femur, and may be older. The find of the infant skull in a much older layer makes this supposition even more possible. In that case the femur may have belonged to *Homo Soloensis*.

Dr. G. R. H. von Koenigswald discovered, in the same terraces from which *Homo Soloensis* comes, an industry of stone and bone artifacts which also must belong to the Late Pleistocene. At the same time he discovered at Patjitan, in another part of Java, stone implements which typologically are identical with those of Chellean, Clactonian and other such palaeolithic civilizations in Europe. The difference between these last implements and the artifacts of the Solo river terraces is so great that it seems as if these are made by two quite different types of primitive *Homo*. In that case we may expect sooner or later the discovery of a third primitive hominoid in Java, and the femur of Trinil may have belonged to the latter. Lack of money has made further research impossible and no definite conclusion of any of the problems mentioned before can be drawn till systematic excavations are taken up again in Java, and definite results are known.

[An article by Professor Dubois on *The fossil human skulls recently discovered in Java*, and *Pithecanthropus erectus* will appear in MAN 1937, 1. —Ed.]

**275** *Cheename the Trailmaker, a Film of Algonkin Indian Life in Old Ottawa.* Taken by Dr. Harlan I. Smith under the direction of Dr. Diamond Jenness; shown at the meeting of the Institute on 3rd November, 1936.

An introduction to the film was given by the President, who showed a number of slides illustrating aspects of material culture dealt with in the film. Of these the most conspicuous were the making of a bark-canoe, and the processes associated with the harvesting (by canoe), threshing, and winnowing of wild rice, which formerly played an essential part in the economics of the Indians of the Great Lakes region of Canada and the States. Hunting scenes, fish-spearing, cooking, fire-making, and other arts and crafts were illustrated in the film. The President laid stress on the similarity of the culture to that of the Ojibwa (an Algonkian tribe) but the actors themselves belonged to the Algonkins proper, whose territory was adjacent to that of the Ojibwa. The following note by Dr. Jenness came too late for use at the meeting.

"In the film presented, "*Cheename the Trail-maker*," the National Museum of Canada has attempted to reconstruct and preserve pictorially the long-vanished life of an Indian tribe in the province of Ontario. The action is staged on two lakes, both within two hundred miles of the city of Ottawa; and the actors are an educated Indian of the Algonkin tribe, his wife, their eldest son, and a baby grandchild.

"The Indians of eastern Canada have been in close contact with Europeans for over 300 years, and to-day they preserve but few traces of their earlier culture and mode of life. They live in houses of European type, they dress as Europeans, and to the casual view they are indistinguishable from the Europeans who live all around them. Consequently, some of the properties used in this film had to be



made especially for the occasion; others, including the costumes, were borrowed from the collections in the National Museum. The greatest care was taken, however, to introduce nothing that was alien to the ancient Indian culture of the area; in this regard the Indian actors were as critical as the officials of the Museum. The film therefore represents as faithful an interpretation as is now possible of the life these Indians led in the days before the white man set his foot on the continent of America.

The film has been publicly exhibited only once, at the meeting of the B.A.A.S. in Blackpool last September. Yet already it has produced one interesting result. It depicts, among other scenes, the building of a birch-bark canoe from the stripping of the bark from the tree, to the launching of the vessel in the water. A note published in the American journal *Science* about the time the film was made, led to an influx of orders for similar bark canoes, and to-day our film star and his relatives are travelling one and two hundred miles back into the forests to find birch trees with large enough bark. The demand for canoes has occasioned an increase in their price.

#### Anthropological Material from the Deccan.

**276** Summary of a communication presented by Mrs. Marguerite Milward, 17 November, 1936.

Last year I went to India to model heads of the

aboriginal and other ancient peoples of the Deccan. I visited 16 tribes and brought back the moulds of 36 heads to be cast in London and eventually put into bronze.

The models I selected were from the Khatodis, a primitive jungle tribe on the Western Ghats carrying bows and arrows. The original Hill Bhil of Ajanta is well represented on one of the frescoes. The Lamanis, nomads to be found in every part, the women wearing the full skirt and bodice of Upper India with gorgeous head-cloths bordered with coins. The Chenchus, perhaps the most interesting, are aboriginal forest dwellers on the hill range known as Nallamalai. They inhabit clusters of huts called "pentas" and still use bows and arrows. I ventured into the most unhealthy part of the Nizam's Dominions to find the Gonds, an indigenous people who form a nation of themselves, the last census gave them five million. At Hubli Criminal Tribes Settlement there was abundant material to hand. Haran-Shikaris, hunters, and the Bhats were the most picturesque. The latter pass themselves off as Rajputs but probably come from lower Indus and South Persia; their women are skilled with the needle. Korwasn Bestars and Waddars were all to be found at Hubli but I chose my Waddar models at Hyderabad, where they were following their profession of stone-cutting on new building estates constructed out of the famous and fearsome masses of rock which cover the ancient Deccan plateau.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

#### Excavations in North Syria. By Sir Leonard

**277** Woolley. Summary of a paper read before the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. 3rd November, 1936.

The object of this Expedition was to trace contacts between the Greek and Aegean civilization and that of the Asiatic mainland, especially during the Minoan period. The sites had been prospected in advance, and the work was financed by private benefactors on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, and by the Ashmolean Museum; most of the season was spent at a small mound on the sea coast at the mouth of the Orontes, and ten days were given to an inland site, Atehana, in the Amk plain, for which a permit for 'sondages' only had been accorded by the Government of Syria.

The coastal mound, Tal-Sheikh-Yusuf, was proved to be the site of a Greek colony engaged in trade with the Greek islands and mainland from the ninth century B.C. until about 320 B.C., when the rivalry of the newly-founded port of Seleucia led to its abandonment; after the destruction of Seleucia the river port was re-opened and was used throughout the Byzantine period and later by the Crusaders. In the upper levels were found Byzantine glazed pottery and a representative series of coins, but the buildings had been completely destroyed. For the classical period the quarter of the town excavated gave the magazines of the importing merchants,

rows of warehouses separated by narrow streets; the buildings had no architectural features, but were extremely rich in contents. Nine levels were found, all of more or less similar character. Throughout, the pottery imported was of the best quality produced at the time in the principal manufacturing centres of Greece. From *circa* 520 to 320 B.C. Athens held a monopoly of the import trade, and throughout the whole period of the Persian Wars was sending its luxury-wares to Asia via the Orontes. Before that, the business was for the most part with the Greek islands; Corinth sent but little, and in the sixth and seventh centuries Rhodes was the chief importer; we have very fine examples of late Rhodian geometric, 'bird bowls' and Orientalizing fabrics, together with plentiful specimens from the other islands, and side by side with these, local wares of similar character which it is not always easy to distinguish from the Greek imports. In the seventh and eighth levels the imported pottery is almost exclusively of Cypriote type, but here again much that looks Cypriote is of local make, and examples occur for which Cyprus itself offers no exact parallel. In the two lowest levels there is no Cypriote pottery at all, but a mass of geometric and sub-geometric pottery, much of which although thoroughly Greek in appearance presents striking analogies with known Asiatic wares. The excavation proves on the one hand that throughout the



whole of the six centuries represented by the site—which is probably to be identified with the Posidium mentioned by Herodotus and later writers—direct intercourse existed between East and West, the Syrian harbour with its easy inland communications short-circuiting the long trade routes through Asia Minor to the Ionian Coast cities which have been supposed to account for the orientalizing influences in early Greek art. It further suggests that ceramic styles which had been regarded as purely Greek in character may have been in fact closely related to and even dependent upon types native to the Asiatic mainland.

Owing to the erosion of the mound by the Orontes nothing much earlier than the ninth century B.C. was found on the Tal-Sheikh-Yusuf site; but a neighbouring hill, Sabounieh, which would seem to have been the town directly served by the harbour, produced Cypriote 'milk-bowls' and Mycenaean sherds. An inland site, Tal-Atchana, lying some 40 miles from the sea, on the trade route running up the Orontes valley into the Amk plain, carried the connexion further back.

The 'sondages' effected here were limited to

two narrow trenches. They produced the ruins of an important building lying quite close to the surface and covered only by a single stratum of later date. The top level gave Mycenaean potsherds; the floor of the main building was littered with painted pottery whose decoration finally established the connexion of North Syria and Minoan Crete. The best illustration was given by a series of sherds from a single large vessel decorated in white on black with an elaborate design of papyrus-plants and double axes; many others had white rosettes on a black ground—some examples of this were in three colours—while others had bird and animal motives not found in Minoan ceramic art. The connexion with Crete was indeed obvious, but connexions with Asiatic sites further to the East were not less certain, and the interaction of the two civilizations appears to be very much more intricate than one could have expected. It remains for further work to show whether Minoan Crete exercised a one-sided influence over territories to which its art was supposed to have been altogether strange, or whether certain elements in that art are to be traced back to an origin in Asia.

## OBITUARY.

**William Johnson Sollas.** *Professor of Geology at Oxford, 30th May, 1849-20th October, 1936.*

**278** Professor William Johnson Sollas, who died at Oxford on 20th October, 1936, was born at Birmingham on 30th May, 1849, and graduated at Cambridge in 1873. After holding professorships in University College, Bristol, and in the University of Dublin, he was elected professor of geology at Oxford in 1897, and he retained this chair until the end. His interests and learning were remarkably varied, and he was absorbed in research throughout his career. He added to our knowledge of geology in almost all its aspects, and he often digressed into the sphere of related sciences. During his later years he was actively interested in the study of early man, and he made several notable contributions to our knowledge of Paleolithic man in Western Europe.

Sollas began these later studies by an exhaustive examination of the small Neanderthal skull which had been discovered in a cave in Gibraltar in 1848 and had remained little noticed in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. He published his results in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1907, and described for the first time the peculiar features of the face in Neanderthal man. In later years he studied another almost unique Paleolithic human skull, which had been found with Magdalenian implements in a small cave at Chancelade in the Dordogne, France. He described and discussed it in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1927, lvii, 89-122), and showed that this skull closely resembled that of the existing Eskimo—a conclusion previously reached by the French anatomist Testut but afterwards disputed. About the same time Sollas prepared an elaborate

series of sagittal profiles of the skull of young apes and man for comparison with the sagittal profile of the fossil skull discovered by Prof. R. A. Dart at Taung, South Africa, and named by him *Australopithecus*. Sollas concluded that in those respects in which *Australopithecus* differed from modern apes, it approached man (*Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, 1926, lxxxii, 82, pp. 1-11).

Sollas was also interested in the exploration of caves which had been occupied by early man, and in 1912 he and Prof. H. Breuil examined thoroughly the cave of Paviland, Glamorganshire, from which Buckland had obtained the greater part of a human skeleton, his 'red lady of Paviland,' nearly a century before. This research formed the subject of the Huxley Memorial Lecture delivered by Sollas to the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1913. He proved that the stone implements were of Aurignacian age, though a few Mousterian and Solutrean types were mingled with them. He also concluded, after careful comparisons, that the skeleton belonged to a Cro-Magnon man. His studies of the patination of the flints and the composition of the pieces of ivory are good examples of the thoroughness of his work.

While Sollas and Breuil were exploring Paviland, they visited the other caves on the same coast, and in Bacon Hole they noticed on the wall some red stripes which they described as "the only attempts" at mural decoration which the [Aurignacian] "race is known to have left behind in Wales." Subsequent discussion suggested that the stripes were really the handiwork of a modern boatman.

Finally, Sollas did great service to prehistoric studies by his publication of a book on *Ancient*



*Hunters and their Modern Representatives*, which appeared in three successive editions in 1911, 1915 and 1924. It is an admirable summary of the subject, treated from every point of view and based largely on personal knowledge and observation. Sollas, indeed, was not only indefatigable in research, but was capable of explaining its meaning to the multitude.

A. S. W.

**279** *Akira Matsumura, Professor of Anthropology at the Imperial University of Tokyo, 1880-1936.* The late Professor Akira Matsumura was born on 1 August, 1880, at Tokyo, as a son of Professor Zinzo Matsumura, a famous botanist in Japan. In 1903 he graduated in anthropology in the Imperial University of Tokyo, and was elected assistant secretary of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo. In 1908 he began to publish the 'Gazetteer of Ethnology.' From 1907-1922, he was engaged in collecting material for the study of the physical anthropology of the Japanese. His *Contributions to the Ethnology of Micronesia* was published, in 1918, in the Journal of the College of Science, Imperial University of Tokyo, Vol. 40, No. 7. In 1924, he took the degree of D.Sc. at the Imperial University of Tokyo, with a dissertation *On the cephalic index and stature of the Japanese and their local differences*,

published in Journ. Fac. Sci. Imp. Univ. Tokyo, V. Anthropology, Vol. I, 1.

In 1924 Matsumura was appointed Professor of Anthropology at the Imperial University. From 1927 to 1928, he travelled in Formosa for research among the aborigines. In 1929 he went to Java as delegate to the Fourth Pacific Science Congress. In 1934 he was elected to a member of the permanent council, and national secretary for Japan, in the International Congress of the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, and was appointed a member of the committee for the standardization of anthropological technique. In 1934 he was elected general secretary of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo.

Unfortunately his brilliant work on the anthropology of the Japanese, which is different from the dissertation *On the cephalic index and stature* : . . . above mentioned, has not yet been published. In this, not only measurements of the living body, but also the descriptive characters, were studied on more than 400 individuals, each recorded photographically. Some of these photographs he was eager to publish with complete data, but the expense was prohibitive. It should, however, now be published for the benefit of the anthropological world and as a memorial to his work and personality.

A. SUDA.

## REVIEWS.

### AFRICA.

**280** *Ten Africans. Edited and introduction by Margery Perham. London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1936. Seco. 356 pp., illustrations and map. 15s.*

"Big people sprout from the people who are poor," says one of the ten Africans whose personal stories make up this illuminating and, in parts, very moving book. The *obiter dictum* comes from one who was a witness before the Committee on Closer Union, and is drawn from him as he studied, in Great Ormond Street Hospital, what is done for London's sick children. Big people sprout from the people who are poor, and not only in the lands of opportunity and old civilization! Within the compass of this book there is proof that greatness awaits its opportunity among people whom we still—to our increasing loss—label 'undeveloped' and 'irresponsible.'

Probably the most striking impression that this book makes is of a capacity for balanced judgments that is at once 'African' in its range and 'African' also in its being independent of what we term 'education.' Of the eight men who tell their story, four have been educated and are 'modern' Africans; the other four are not. Of the two women, one is an elderly Xhosa who must have been born about 1865 and who was a 'blanket Kaffir' until well into married life; the other a Yoruba, daughter of educated parents, and the holder of British university degrees. It is important to realize this wise balance in the material that Miss Perham offers. But what will strike the careful reader most is the balanced wisdom of these Africans, educated and uneducated alike.

Geographically, the book is truly African in its range, since its contributors include Bantu and non-Bantu, belonging to South Africa, the two Rhodesias, Nyasaland, South and North Nigeria, the Swahili littoral, and Kenya. The social anthropologist is perhaps less supplied with

material than the student of political conditions and political possibilities. That belongs to the very nature of the case. These ten Africans speak—not so much of intent as by the life-stories which they so simply tell—as people rather of the future than of the past; representatives not so much of primitive culture as of incalculable destiny.

One would willingly use space for detailed mention of the individual contribution of each. That is impossible. But one would draw the attention of all whose minds are at work upon the daunting problems of South Africa to the story of Gilbert Coka. Perhaps the present reviewer has a special interest here, since the tragedy of Clements Kadahle—once a pupil of his in Nyasaland—is revealed here along with the story of the I.C.U. and the coming of Mr. Ballinger; all from the view-point of those struggling African pioneers. "My broodings were 'mostly of my future eminence,'" says Mr. Coka, speaking of his first contacts with the movement. "Typically African!", we say; but as we read on we observe the balance, the penetration and the restraint of a mind whose quality surprises us. And as we leave him on his closing words, "I am waiting, and I hope to 'see many things before I die,'" we are still more impressed as we realize that we have been listening to a Zulu who is only 25. To his story, that of Nosente, the Xhosa matron, provides an admirable back-scene.

For the more general reader, the contributions from the two witnesses before the Closer Union Committee will be of great interest, along with those of Miss Moore, the Yoruba graduate (aged 21) and of the old Tebele headman, Kumalo, after his experience in England on the cast of the 'Rhodes' film. One takes further reprint of this book for granted, and so may be allowed to venture one suggestion:

In the story of 'Rashid bin Hassani' (who has hidden



his true Bisa names under an Arab alias assumed during his life of wandering) the country of birth ought, one thinks, to be Nyasaland and not Northern Rhodesia. 'Nakotakota' and 'Kazungu' must, almost certainly, be our Nkotakota and Kasungu, between Lake Nyasa and the Fort Jameson border. And references to Mpeseni, the Ngoni chief, and to his raids, strengthen this conclusion; although a further reference to "a permanent stream, Musora, running into Lake Wemba" (*Tanganyika*) rather complicates the case. Lake Tanganyika is hundreds of miles from Mpeseni's country; but it is—at least roughly—the country from which the Bisa people were driven out at an earlier period and so may have come into old Rashid's tale as ancestral site rather than his own birthplace.

This book will come to the hands of many concerned in Africa's future. It leaves in no doubt the quality of Africa's men and women to-day. It may come to the hands of those—whether at the Cape or farther north—who have it in their power to make use of this magnificent material in consultative and in administrative partnership. Perhaps that, in the end, may prove to be Miss Perham's greatest service.

CULLEN YOUNG.

**Ubena of the Rivers.** By A. T. & G. M. Culwick. London: Allen and Unwin, 1935. 444 pp. Price 16s.

281

It is twenty years almost to a day since the writer marched, along with a few companions, into an evacuated German fort among the wind-swept uplands of an area marked in some maps as *Ndjombe* and in others as *Ubena*. This was Ubena of the Hills. Later months of the East African campaign took him into very different country; the matted, tangled foothills of Masagati and then out on the level, sun-baked lands of the Myena and Ruhiji; Ubena of the Rivers.

It is, therefore, a very special pleasure now to spend some days in Mr. and Mrs. Culwick's company among the fascinating people of that land.

This is anthropology in action, too, like the work of Mr. Gordon Brown and Mr. Bruce Hutt. But its results are presented in a form that allows the general reader more fully to share with the anthropologist in appreciation. The authors have produced a most readable record from some years of obviously friendly and genuinely intimate contact with the Bena people and have been fortunate to find among the Bena elders themselves a strong desire that permanent form be given to what they, not without reason, consider to be noteworthy things. The friendliness and intimacy of the contact may be judged by the entry granted to the tribe's holy of holies, and not the least interesting part of the book is its description of the place held in the life of the tribe by Stool and Drum, along with actual illustration of the revered articles themselves. The three 'curious iron articles' preserved along with Stool and Drum within the sacrosanct building must, I think, be linked up with Dr. Richard's Bemba 'spear-stands' (*MAN*, 1935, 32) and my own Kamanga 'tridents' (*MAN*, 1935, 87). Here among the Bena we find these articles also preserved as 'tribal heirlooms.'

What, perhaps to most readers, will be the great contribution this book has to offer is in Chapter VII. This chapter, *The Wenjekongo*, is a description—for both sexes—of the Bena educational system under the direct supervision and responsibility of the *Mtema* himself. Space forbids any examination of the quite extraordinarily interesting material here presented. It is, quite literally, an eyepener; a window thrown open upon the wisdom of an 'untutored' race. Let those who criticize and decry what they describe as any 'idealizing of the primitive situation' study this chapter!

It deserves separate reprint as supplementary to and corroborative of Mr. E. W. Smith's paper on *Indigenous Education in Africa* as contributed by him to the 'Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman.'

The history of the tribe—so much of it from the pen of Mtema Towegale himself—is notable, and this record of it will be of prime value as time goes on. It interlaces with that of so many once-independent peoples. For it must be stated that Mr. and Mrs. Culwick are in contact with a very composite society and one in which 'reaction to conquest' (if one may steal Miss Monica Hunter's phrase) can be, and has in this book been, studied.

The relationships also between the late German administration and the Bena is worthy of note. The story of the execution of Mtema Salimbongo for 'treachery' brings back memories to the present writer, as he was one of those present on the Ruhiji at that time (1916), and one of those, also, present a little later when Mtema Kiwanga II came to greet the British after their passage at arms with a certain Major Kraut. This commander, it may be suggested, is probably the 'Bwana Klaus (?)' of this book.

Historical dating for the pre-European period must be based rather on the authors' conjectural figures than upon Towegale's chronology. Cross-checking with Ngoni dates on Lake Nyasa, for example, prove this conclusively. But it is not the history here that is important. It is the living, speaking picture of an African people sagely ruled; among whom, as we are more and more coming to see, thought moves upon a much higher level than we had previously believed possible in Africa. The authors are to be sincerely thanked for preparing this material in a style so attractive and, having successfully avoided the erudite and heavy, we may gladly concede that their occasional lapses into the vocabulary of light-heartedness are no blemish.

Beside the sections on 'Tribal and Social Organization,' there are a group of chapters on the economic side: 'The Land' and 'The Production and Distribution of Wealth.' And through it all, the fascinating pattern of social adjustments among men and women owning diverse—i.e., matrilineal and patrilineal—antecedents.

CULLEN YOUNG.

**Africa Answers Back.** By H.H. Prince Akiki K. Nyabongo. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. London, 1936. x + 278 pp., 6 illustrations. Price 7s. 6d.

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This book is described on the dust-cover as being: "part fiction, part autobiography, part satire, part folklore and anthropology," and, as one peruses its pages, one finds that this description is quite true, but the difficulty for the average reader will be to decide what is fiction and what is not. To this I would add that the author is also a cynic, he has discovered that there are many people in this world who believe that because a thing is printed it must necessarily be true. This knowledge may be, and often is, of value in the commercial and political worlds, but exaggerated or sensational statements purporting to be facts should have no place in a book which sets out to be informative. I suppose there is no law which can prevent anyone assuming the title of 'Prince' if one wishes to do so, but I have always understood that 'H.H.' is in a different category, and the author has arrogated to himself a title which even his own brother, the reigning Mukama of Toro, ruling over some 200,000 people, is not entitled to use. Admitted that much of the story is fiction, the author has made a careless slip when, on p. 185, he introduces Ganda greetings, whereas elsewhere Toro (or, Nyoro) greetings are used; and in order to introduce 'drum language' into an area where it is not known, the



author has written a piece of fiction which defeats its own ends, because, on the face of it, it is manifestly untrue.

The dramatic story of the finding of Stanley's letters in Linant de Bellefond's boots after his death is repeated, although it is now known to be inaccurate, and the illustrator, on p. 23, not content with representing Lord Lugard as wearing shorts, circa 1891, requires him to wear the shoulder strap of his Sam Browne belt over the left shoulder! There are other points to which one can take exception, but the book as a whole is most entertaining if one does not take it seriously.

Mr. Akiki Nyabongo has been studying Anthropology at Oxford, and there is enough first-rate material in his book to cause one to believe that he is capable of giving us a very useful account of his own people. This one hopes he will do. Some of the material used in this book, when the wheat has been sifted from the chaff, might well be made use of again. We know very little of the home life of native peoples, and Mr. Akiki

Nyabongo shows himself to be a writer competent to give us a living picture of just this sort of thing.

E. B. H.

**Camels through Libya.** By Dugald Campbell. London: Seeley Service & Co. 1935. 8vo., 292 pp. Illustrated, price 18s. net.

**283** This is a breezy narrative of travel in North Africa, from Tripoli south and east as far as Ghat; thence to Marzub, 'the Paris of the Sahara'; to Jarabuh and Suva, Farafra, Dakhla and Kharga. There is a short historical sketch of Libya, ancient and medieval, and of the main elements in the population, Jew, Arab, Berber, and Hausa. With all these, and with the Italian administrators of a difficult province, Mr. Campbell seems to have been on excellent terms; but his ethnographical detail has to be picked out of the book as best the reader can, for the index contains little but proper-names.

J. L. M.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

**Island India goes to School.** By E. R. Embree, M. S. Simon, and W. B. Munford. (University of Chicago Press, Cambridge University Press.) 1934. 8vo. 120 pp., illustrated. Price 9s. net.

**284** An 'apologia' at the end of this book explains its origin and purpose, as a study of education in the Dutch East Indies, subsidized by the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the Carnegie Corporation, and assisted in the field by the Department of Education of Netherlands India. The colonial policy of every power and in every native area, as the writers observe (p. 115) is simply a part of a world movement of clash and readjustment. Every experiment in this general world-problem has its interest and value, and the educational work of the Dutch colonial government has been remarkable, both for its wide range, and for its systematic and philosophic outlook. The summary of aims in native education (pp. 95-111) repays careful reading by everyone interested in this problem; "the function of the school in a colonial area is to help young people to learn the good elements "of both cultures: thus their lives will be enriched." For western civilization, to which some would invite native peoples to surrender their own rich heritage, "is only "partly good," and requires the joy and creative expression and communal feeling of the East, to make it a fully satisfying way of life.

J. L. M.

**Report on the Fisheries of Palestine.** By James Hornell. London (Crown Agents for the Colonies). 1935. 106 pp. Price 7s. 6d. net.

**285** Mr. Hornell's comparative studies of the boats of many countries are well known. Here, among other aspects of a regional group of fishing industries, he has included a full description of fishing methods—some 'unchanged for 2,000 years'—the nets, lines, traps, and less admirable devices such as dynamite and poisons. Besides the boats, the fishing organization is explained, the curing and canning, the exploitation of turtle, sponge, and shellfish; and a retrospect of Palestinian fisheries since biblical times.

J. L. M.

**Snow People.** By Taeki Odulok. Translated by James Cleugh. London: Methuen, 1934. 152 pp., plates. Price 5s.

**286** This little book is a tale of the Chukchee, written by a member of the Yukagirs, a neighbouring tribe. The author fought in the Russian Revolution and since 1925 has studied in Leningrad and has published other works on the Far North. This book is an intimate account of a Chukchee family, their habits, folklore and methods of life, which is simply written and throws considerable light on the psychology of these people.

One naturally compares them with the Eskimos. They are more fortunate than the Eskimos in having domesticated reindeer for traction and for food, but less so in living in skin tents through an equally severe winter. In the extreme hardships they apparently have fewer comforts than the Eskimos, and some of the habits, both of humans, reindeer and dogs can only be described as weird. Although a coastal people, the Chukchee appear not to hunt the sea mammals, but to depend wholly upon the tundra for their subsistence. It would be interesting to know the blood groups of these people. The ten illustrations are from photographs, including one of the author.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

**Deutsche Bräuche im Jahreslauf.** By Hans Hühne and Heinz Julius Niehoff. Halle (Saale). Landesanstalt für Volksheilkunde. 1935. 12½" x 9½". 24 pp. plates 254, n.p.

**287** This portfolio contains 254 reproductions of photographs, the best of which are clear and interesting, of some Calendar Customs still observed in German-speaking countries. The accompanying pamphlet is apparently intended more as a call to the awakening German national spirit than as a scientific record, for which latter purpose it would require details and descriptions, but the portfolio will be useful in illustration of customs described in other works.

H. C. L.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

**Nomenclature of Palaeolithic Finds.** Cf. MAN, 1936, 139, 196, 266.

**288** SIR.—It is always gratifying to the author when his letter to MAN gives rise to intelligent replies from colleagues whether they accept his ideas or not.

In the case in point, my object in bringing forward the problem of the nomenclature of palaeolithic finds has been attained. The matter has been made public and the advantages and dangers of using existing cultural names for newly-discovered industries in widely-separated areas



examined. But the letter of my friend, Professor van Riet Lowe, to whom are so largely due the recent forward strides taken by South African prehistory, raises a further question. Does he, I wonder, overstress the importance of technological affinities as compared with typological ones when, after lamenting that typology fails us owing to the different materials used in different regions, he says, in a sentence (whose italics are mine), "we therefore need . . . to use terms to describe techniques (and consequently affinities) generally and terms to describe assemblages (industries or cultures) only as circumstances dictate"?

To take an example: if a short, stout, stubby flake is required, the method of obtaining it is by a pulling blow of the nucleus, which is held in both hands and struck with an almost semicircular movement of the outstretched arms on to a hard stone anvil resting on the ground. This gives rise to the well-known inclined platform found so frequently in the case of Clactonian industries. If, however, a right-angled striking platform is needed the direction of the blow of the nucleus on the anvil is more vertically downwards. Now when a large lump of quartzite is in question the former of these methods would often be used owing to the weight of the nucleus and consequent difficulty of striking the anvil otherwise. The technique, then, is 'Clactonian,' but the industries from a typological point of view might not, of course, be similar or in any way culturally related to the true Clactonian. Thus, personally, I fear I remain somewhat impenitent as to the use of cultural names, unless an actual cultural similarity or connexion is intended or implied by the author. I feel that the use of cultural names merely to denote similar simple techniques, especially where the types present are either too elementary to furnish much evidence either way, or are not particularly similar is surely liable to create erroneous ideas in the minds of readers. Could we not solve the difficulty by describing techniques in terms derived from the methods of manufacture used or the appearance resulting from them, as in our old friends 'pressure,' 'resolved' and 'step' flaking or 'tortoise' core and 'chapeau-de-gendarme' striking platform, while reserving place names to denote an actual or postulated cultural connection?

M. C. BURKITT.

#### Early Slavonic Pottery.

**289** SR.—I was greatly interested in Professor S. S. Magura's account (*J.R.A.S.*, 1935, pp. 113-121, pl. III-IV) of the early Slavonic pottery found by him in his excavations at Kiselivka Hill in 1932. As Professor Minns has pointed out in his translation of Professor Magura's article, much of this pottery from Kiselivka and other sites in the Ukraine is exactly paralleled by pottery found at Niezviska, in the department of Horodniec, in Poland, during the excavations conducted there by Professor Leon Kozłowski. In particular, the ware of 'the period of Roman influence' corresponds to the fabric which my friend Mr. J. P. Preston and I termed 'Gothic' in our article describing the Niezviska finds (*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XVII, pp. 19-26).

Similarly, our Slav ware corresponds exactly to the later Slavonic pottery of Professor Magura. I am also inclined to regard the 'earliest Slavonic' wares of the Ukraine, as illustrated in Magura's article by Plate V, Nos. 17-21, as identical with the ware we dubbed Czechy-Wysocko, but cannot affirm this positively, since I have not seen these Ukrainian wares. The peculiar fabric with moulded decoration found at Kiselivka, in company both with 'the earliest Slavonic'

and with the Romanizing pottery, may perhaps have been intermediate in date, as it certainly is in technique, or may overlap the two periods.

If I am right, however, in identifying Professor Magura's 'earliest Slavonic' with our 'Czechy-Wysocko' he would appear to date the first appearance of this culture considerably later than we did. I will not, however, venture to contradict or even criticize his dating, because I am unable to check the datings most recently assigned to this culture in the Slavonic periodicals.

R. W. HUTCHINSON.

*Knaossos, Crete.*

#### Myth and Ritual. (Cf. MAN, 1936, 267.)

**290** SR.—Professor Rose tells us that "Homer could, if he had chosen, have provided Achilles with the means for revenge without the intervention of Thetis and Zeus." By so saying he not merely begs the whole question of Homeric origins, but implies that the part played by the gods in the Iliad is an insignificant one. If he checks Book V, for example, he will find that the activities of the gods occupy 380 lines, or more than two-fifths. Why a poet, composing a 'brilliant' account of a real war, should devote so much space to divine activities, and describe them in so matter-of-fact a manner, is a question which Professor Rose, and those who think as he does, have never attempted to explain.

He tells us, again, that "the Greeks supposed it" (the War of Troy) was real, and that is enough." He assumes, quite gratuitously, that because the 5th century Greeks supposed it real, therefore the Homeric poet must have done the same. By this argument it follows that because most modern historians have accepted the story of the Burghers of Calais, therefore Froissart must have believed it himself. As a fact he could not well have done so, since all the evidence points to its being a fiction composed by him to please his patrons. RAGLAN.

#### The Origin of the Spoon. (Cf. MAN, 1936, 203.)

**291** SR.—As the origin of the spoon is in question we may note the large and clumsy ivory spoons, with square or round bowls, found in the Badarian civilization of Egypt, about 7,000 B.C. (Brunton, *Badarian Civilisation*, xxii). These were preceded by short-handled pottery spoons (*Beth-pelet*, II, xxviii, 22, and *Telielut Ghassul*, xlv, 55-64). The higher development was in the Gerzean Age, with delicate handles in ivory as thin as a straw, and small circular bowls, about 5,500 B.C. Minute spoons were used to take a pinch of herb snuff: see collection at University College, London.

Much later, in the Iron Age there were bowls of large cowry shells, with iron handle riveted on (*Objects of Daily Use*, xxiii).

FLINDERS PETRIE.

*Jerusalem.*

#### Correction. (Cf. MAN, 1936, 183.)

**292** SR.—I write to draw your attention to a passage in MAN, 1936, 183, viz.: "Why do the natives of German West Africa manufacture, etc." In common with many British people, more particularly those living in Africa, I take strong exception to the expression "German West Africa," a term which became obsolete over twenty years ago, and I have no doubt my feelings are shared by many readers of MAN.

J. SYKES.

*Kampala, Uganda.*





# WE, THE TIKOPIA

*a sociological study  
of kinship  
in primitive Polynesia*



*by* RAYMOND FIRTH  
M.A., Ph.D.

*Author of "Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori"  
and "Art and Life in New Guinea."*

*With a Preface by  
Bronislaw Malinowski*

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD



The book describes the social life of almost the last Polynesian people to remain comparatively untouched by civilization. Clad only in their primitive bark-cloth, fishing from their home-made outrigger canoes, they speak only their own tongue, they are ruled by their own chiefs, and most of them worship their ancient ancestral gods in the ritual forms which died out in the rest of Polynesia nearly a century ago. Producing no goods for trade with the outside world, they have heard only vaguely of the use of money, and are ignorant of its value. On this island of Tikopia, at the end of the Eastern Solomon Islands chain the author spent twelve months, and during that time saw other white men only once.

The main theme is a study of the kinship and family structure of these natives in relation to their totemic clan grouping, land tenure, economic organization, language, sex life, initiation ritual, and marriage. In the course of the analysis a number of problems of general anthropological theory are discussed, and some novel views expressed on such subjects as incest, "avoidance," and infanticide.

### *List of Illustrations*

A TIKOPIA ARISTOCRAT; VAHIHALOA; A YOUTH IN DANCE COSTUME; CARRYING COCONUTS; THE COAST OF RAVENA; A DWELLING IN AN INLAND CLEARING; AN ELDER OF RANK; A BACHELOR EMERGED FROM MOURNING; A NOTED CRAFTSMAN; A TIKOPIA WOMAN; TWO SISTERS—FORAURAKEI—VAIKITERAKI; A CHIEF'S HOUSE; THE MARAE AT MATAUTU; WOMEN ON THE REEF; AMUSEMENT IN THE ORCHARD; ACTIVITIES OF CHILDREN; BREAKING UP THE SOIL; GRATING COCONUT; CO-OPERATION IN MAKING SAGO PUDDING; A TOKEN OF FILIAL SENTIMENT; THE ARIKI TAFUA; PA TAITAI WITH TEKILA IN HIS LAP; MEN AT A FISH DRIVE; BRINGING IN THE CANOE; CONTRIBUTIONS TO A FEAST; PREPARING TARO FOR COOKING; COOKS AT WORK; GIFTS TO CHIEFS; RAKING THE OVEN; FOOD FOR AN INITIATION CEREMONY; THE SCENE OF INITIATION; UNDER THE KNIFE; AROUND THE OVEN; AT REST AFTER THE OPERATION; THE INITIATES ABROAD; BEARING OFF THE GIFTS; A FESTIVAL DANCE OF MEN; A FESTIVAL DANCE OF YOUNG WOMEN; WEDDING PRESENTS; THE BEWAILING OF THE BRIDE; PA FENUATARA IN THE GARDENS.

Also maps and diagrams

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by Raymond Firth

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*605 pages.*

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George Allen & Unwin, Museum St., London, W.C.1



# ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION.

TO BE HELD IN THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, HOUGHTON STREET, ALDWYCH, LONDON, W.C. 2, FROM 5TH TO 7TH JANUARY 1937.

## EXHIBITIONS.

A PUBLISHERS' EXHIBITION of books, maps and appliances for the study of geography will be open on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and members are specially asked to visit it. In addition, several other Exhibitions have been arranged as follows :—

1. Mr. Fairgrieve will arrange demonstrations of films and silent projectors on Tuesday, January 5th, at 9-45 a.m., 10-45 a.m., 11-45 a.m. (Room 46). There will be room for 50 people at each demonstration. A ticket for one of these times will be sent on application to each member of the Association till the number is reached. Application (enclosing a stamped addressed envelope) should be made to the Clerk of the Association at Manchester, stating the order of preference. Any tickets that cannot be used should be returned at once.

2. Mr. T. C. Warrington will exhibit and discuss a series of maps, chiefly Ordnance maps. The Association has set up a Committee to explore the possibility of making a selection of maps for use in the class-room; suggestions, based on the exhibits, will be welcomed. Mr. Warrington will hold informal discussions on Tuesday morning, and at other times during the Conference.

3. Mr. H. King and others will exhibit and discuss a selection of pictures for epidiascopes, in Room 215. The sets of pictures have been prepared by Mr. King, as Chairman of the Association's Committee on the subject. The pictures will be on view on Tuesday morning.

4. Dr. Bryan has arranged an exhibition of photographs, taken during the Association's Spring Conference at Sheffield, 1936. (Room 2.)

5. The Land Utilisation Survey of Britain will exhibit samples of its work, in progress and completed. (Room 2.)

## SPECIAL NOTES.

A Members' Dinner will be held on Wednesday evening, 6th January, at 7-45 p.m., in the Refectory of the London School of Economics. Tickets 5/- each. Members obtaining tickets by post should apply before 1st January; a *stamped addressed envelope* should be enclosed with the request. Money can be refunded, if Mr. Beaver is informed before the dinner is ordered—i.e., before 4 p.m. on Tuesday, 5th January, that a ticket will not be used. Mr. Beaver's address is London School of Economics, Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2. Evening dress optional. Tickets will be on sale up to 4 p.m. on the first day of the Conference only.

The Metropolitan Branches of the Geographical Association invite all members of the Association present at the Annual Conference to tea on Tuesday, 5th January, at 4-15 p.m. In order that adequate arrangements for tea may be made, it is essential that members intending to be present should obtain tickets before 2 p.m. on Tuesday, 5th January. These tickets may be obtained at the Geographical Association stall.



**REFRESHMENTS** may be obtained in the Refectory of the London School of Economics if sufficient numbers take advantage of the offer. Coffee and light refreshments may be obtained from 10-30 a.m. to 12 noon, hot and cold lunches from 12-30 to 2 p.m., and teas from 3-30 to 5 p.m.

**ACCOMMODATION.**—Arrangements have been made for members to stay at College Hall (University of London), Malet Street, London, W.C. 1, at a charge of 8/6 per day. Members who desire accommodation at this Hall should fill in and return the form herewith to Miss G. Freeth, Avon Dale, Wimbledon Park Road, London, S.W. 19, before December 18th.

**REDUCED RAILWAY FARES.**—*Return Tickets.* Members should purchase monthly return tickets, which are issued from all booking offices at the ordinary fare and one-third for the double journey.

*Single Tickets.* Members who will require single tickets should write to the Clerk, Geographical Association, c/o Municipal High School of Commerce, Princess Street, Manchester 1, for a voucher. A stamped and addressed envelope should be enclosed with the request. Single tickets at two-thirds of the ordinary fare are available on day of issue only, and are issued to members of the Association on any day between Tuesday, 29th December, and Tuesday, 12th January.

**PLEASE CONSULT** the notice-board in the Entrance Hall for any alterations of programme.

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**PLEASE NOTE** that correspondence about the Annual Conference or private matters must NOT be sent to the London School of Economics, correspondence for the Hon. Conference Organiser, Mr. S. H. Beaver, M.A., excepted.

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**TUESDAY, 5th JANUARY, 1937.**

- 10-0 a.m. Publishers' Exhibition and other exhibitions and demonstrations, as noted on previous page.
- 11-0 a.m. Council Meeting.
- 2-0 p.m. Annual Business Meeting.
- 3-0 p.m. Presidential Address by Sir Josiah Stamp, entitled "Geography and Economic Theory."
- 4-15 p.m. Tea for members, by kind invitation of the London Branches, in the Refectory. Admission by ticket only, to be obtained before 2 p.m. at the G.A. stall.
- 5-0 p.m. Meetings for Teachers in Central, Senior and Primary Schools, in Secondary Schools, in Public and Preparatory Schools, and in Training Colleges to receive reports of their Standing Committees.



### WEDNESDAY, 6TH JANUARY, 1937.

- 10-0 a.m. "Whither Population?": a Symposium. Prof. C. B. Fawcett: "Distribution and Trends of Movement." Other speakers: Dr. R. R. Kuczynski and Sir William Beveridge. Chairman: Sir Josiah Stamp.
- 12-0 noon "Problems of the North-East Coast." Lantern lecture by Mr. G. H. J. Daysh. Chairman: Prof. L. Rodwell Jones.
- 2-0 p.m. "Broadcast Geography Lessons." A Discussion, opened by Mr. L. Brooks, followed by Dr. H. Thomas and others. Chairman: Mr. J. Fairgrieve.
- 4-0 p.m. Primary Schools Group. "Geography in the Junior School." Opening speakers: Mr. W. S. Baker and Mr. G. F. Edwards. Chairman: Mr. A. H. Russell.  
Secondary Schools Group. "Local Geography." Opening speakers: Miss E. M. Coulthard and Mr. J. E. G. Mosby. Chairman: Mr. L. B. Cundall.
- 7-15 p.m. Assemble for Dinner in the Women's Common Room. Dinner at 7-45 p.m. in the Refectory.

### THURSDAY, 7TH JANUARY, 1937.

- 10-0 a.m. "Portugal in 1936." Lantern lecture by Dr. L. Dudley Stamp.
- 11-30 a.m. "Some Geographical Aspects of Railway Development." Lantern lecture by Mr. S. H. Beaver.
- 2-0 p.m. "Reality in Climate: the Climates of Small Areas." Lantern lecture by Dr. H. A. Matthews. Chairman: Dr. S. W. Wooldridge. Discussion to be opened by Mr. A. A. Miller, who will suggest ways in which the methods can be applied in the teaching of Geography.
- 3-15 p.m. Joint meeting with the Le Play Society's Student Group. Lantern lecture by Dr. L. R. Wood on "The Hardanger Fjord." Chairman: Mr. K. C. Edwards.
- 4-30 p.m. Training College Group (all others invited). Discussion of an investigation into the Comprehension of Geographical Ideas by Children. Opened by Mr. T. Herdman. Chairman: Miss A. R. Burgess.

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The Le Play Society invites our members to the following lectures, which are included in its Annual Conference programme:—

Monday, January 4th, at 2-30 p.m., at University College, Gower Street, W.C. 1 (Chemistry Theatre): Dr. L. Dudley Stamp on "Poland."

Monday, January 4th, at 8-30 p.m., at College Hall, Malet Street, W.C. 1: Prof. C. B. Fawcett on "Telgart."

Tuesday, January 5th, at 8-30 p.m., at College Hall: Prof. H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., F.R.S., on "The Roumanian Peasantry."

Dinner will be served in College Hall at 7-15 p.m., on Monday and Tuesday—*i.e.*, immediately before the lectures. The Le Play Society's Annual Dinner will be held at the Hall on Friday, January 1st: reception, 7-15 p.m., dinner, 7-45 p.m. Lord Meston will preside. Tickets for this Dinner (4/6), and for the dinners on Monday and Tuesday (2/9), together with further details of the Le Play Society's Conference, may be obtained from Miss Margaret Tatton, Le Play Society, 58, Gordon Square, W.C. 1.



## THE COUNCIL OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION.

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# MAN

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, JANUARY, 1936.

### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

**Tuesday, January 14.** 8.30 p.m. Ritual Festivals and Tribal Cohesions in the Hinterland of the Gold Coast (*lantern*).  
Dr. M. FORTES. *Executive Committee*, 5 p.m.

**Tuesday, January 28.** 8.30 p.m. *Council*, 4.30 p.m. Title of Paper will be announced later.

### HUMAN BIOLOGY MEETING.

**Friday, February 7.** 5 p.m. *Chairman*, Prof. W. LE GROS CLARKE. *Convener*, Miss M. L. TILDESLEY. Observations Made and Results obtained on a European Tour in the Interests of Standardization. Miss M. L. TILDESLEY.

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### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

- Tuesday, February 4. 8.30 p.m. Tribal Politics, Rainmaking and the Levirate among the Christianised Kxatla of Bechuanaland Protectorate. PROFESSOR I. SCHAFER, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.S.Af. *Council*, 4.30 p.m.  
Tuesday, February 11. 8.30 p.m. Mana. (*Limern.*) DR. H. IAN HOGGIN. *Executive Committee*, 5 p.m.  
Friday, February 28. 8.30 p.m. NyaKyusa Law: A theoretical Introduction to the Study of Law in East Africa. MR. GODFREY WILSON, M.A. *Council*, 4.30 p.m.

### HUMAN BIOLOGY MEETING.

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, MARCH, 1936.

### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, March 10. 8.30 p.m. Anthropology and Theories of Native Development. Miss L. P. MAIR, M.A., Ph.D. *Executive Committee*, 5 p.m.

Tuesday, March 24. 8.30 p.m. The Antiquity of Nordic Culture. PROFESSOR V. GORDON CHILDE. *Council*, 4.30 p.m.

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, APRIL, 1936.

### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, April 7. 8.30 p.m. Tradition and Prestige in Ngoni Society. DR. MARGARET H. READ. *Executive Committee*, 5 p.m.

Tuesday, April 21. 8.30 p.m. Maori and Polynesian in the Light of Recent Archaeological Work. H. D. SKINNER, Esq. *Council*, 4.30 p.m.

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### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, June 9. 8.30 p.m. Dr. H. U. DOERING will speak on Ancient Peruvian Cemeteries of the Nazca Region. *Executive*, 5 p.m.

Tuesday, June 23. 8.30 p.m. Title will be announced later. *Council*, 4.30 p.m.

Tuesday, June 30. 8.30 p.m. *Presidential Address*. Concerning Human Progress. Dr. H. S. HARRISON.

### HUMAN BIOLOGY.

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SEPTEMBER, 1935.

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, OCTOBER, 1936.

### ORDINARY MEETING.

Tuesday, October 13. 8.30 p.m. Recent discoveries of Skulls and Pleistocene Stone Implements in Java (*Lantern and Specimens*). Dr. P. V. VAN STEIN CALLENVELD. Council. 4.30 p.m.

### HUXLEY MEMORIAL LECTURE.

Tuesday, October 27. 9 p.m. Methods in Social Anthropology. PROFESSOR EDWARD WESTERMARCK, Ph.D., LL.D.

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### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

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Tuesday, November 17. 8.30 p.m. Anthropological Material from the Deccan. (*Lantern*). Mrs. MARGUERITE MILWARD. *Council*, 4.30 p.m.

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Tuesday, December 15. 8.30 p.m. The Culture of the Mexican Highlands. (*Lantern.*) MISS GUDA K. G.  
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